

"IS THE NAME OF GOD, THE MERCIFUL, THE COMPASSIONATE!"

CHAPTER I.

I will state at the outset that as the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Nisbat*¹ has given an account of the nobles of the realm immediately after his history of the empire, and as most of them are now dead, and gone to perdition,²

[In no one have I seen fidelity,

If thou hast found one who possesses it convey to him my blessing.]

I will refrain from polluting the nib of my pen with a description of such worthless wretches, and will commence with the enumeration of some of the holy men of the age, for an account of noble men who have chosen the way of God is in every way to be preferred to an account of scoundrels and debauchees. And so will I not be a mark for threats and comminations.³ ("Throw dust on the faces of those who praise without stint," and again, "may God protect us from the wickedness of tyrants."⁴) An account of the base acts of the followers (of the Divine Faith),⁵

مخفی نماند¹ literally, "let it not be concealed," a common form of commencing a history.

² Nizamu'd-Din Ahmad, vide *Asn-i-Allari* *passim*. His history is generally known as the *Zafar-i-Akbari*.

³ Such expressions as this explain Badāoni's reason for keeping this history secret. The literal translation is "and have not been pardoned."

⁴ I.e., "were I to mention these men at all I could only mention them in such a manner as would lead to my being persecuted, for I will not give praise where it is not due. I will therefore keep silence regarding them."

⁵ Two pious ejaculations in Arabic, the former, which is one of the *احادیث*, or traditional sayings of Muḥammad, denouncing flatterers, while the latter prays for protection from tyrants.

⁶ There are evidently the persons intended by the word *طلبه*. Badāoni as a good Muslim was much scandalized by the strange freaks of the followers of this new religion of Akbar's.

with whose unclean existence the age is polluted may be thus described :—

Their letters do not spell sense,¹
 Nor do their thoughts tend in the direction of sense;
 Think meanly of the base, and of those whose faith is weak,
 Form the same estimate of the latter as of the former.
 When one can call to mind one's friends,
 And so make the heart a garden of sweet memories,
 Pity were it to mention one's enemies
 For that were to quit the sweet garden for the midden.²

2. Shāh was adorned have now, for the most part, withdrawn, as the 'anqā³ retires to the mountains of Qāf, to the neighbourhood of the Great God. It is as though they had all conspired together to roll up and remove the baggage of life from this dwelling of care and deceit and to take up their abode in the home of joy and bliss. And now of that caravan not one remains to encourage stragglers.

"The mansions are deserted, temporary and permanent dwelling alike,

"Nothing remains but owls and rubbish."⁴

I shall begin with that class of men who were regularly employed in the Imperial service until⁵ their fame reached such a pitch that it was as manifest as the sun at midday.

1 The reference to the idiomatic use of the word حرف (*ḥarf*) "a letter of the alphabet" as in the phrase حرف زدن, "to talk," is hard to reproduce in a translation. The meaning of the line is :—"The letters (or sounds) of which their talk is composed do not spell (or make) sense."

2 کلخن *lit.*, 'dustbin,' otherwise 'the furnace used for heating a bath.' The unsavouriness of the latter would be due to the nature of the fuel used.

3 A fabulous bird, described as being "known as to name, but unknown as to body." Its abode is in Qāf, a mountain encircling the world, which may be described in much the same terms as is the bird. In practical, as opposed to mythical geography, the name is given to the Caucasus.

4 This Arabic couplet is clearly a parody on the opening couplet of the fourth *qasidah* of the سبع معلقات. In the second hemistich the word صم appears in the text, and also in MSS. (A) and (B). This does not make sense. I prefer to read ثم.

5 يا in the text, despite the clear meaning of the passage and the authority of both MSS.

I. MIYĀN ḤĀTIM OF SAMBHAL.¹

(May God sanctify his tomb.)

Miyān Ḥātim² was a profound sage who passed very many years in teaching. He was endowed with both inward and outward perfection. While he was engaged in acquiring knowledge he was overcome by religious ecstasy,³ and, forsaking scholastic disputations, attached himself as a disciple to his teacher, Shaikh Azizu-'llāh, a learned man of Talamba,⁴ who was of those who are truly wise in the way of God, and was one of the most highly regarded of the holy men of his time. He also spent some time in the service of Shaikh 'Alāu'-d-Dīn Cishtī⁵ of Dihli, (may God sanctify his soul!) following his rule, and obtained from both of these holy men permission to perfect their students and disciples. At the time when he was first drawn towards God he wandered about for ten years, bareheaded and barefooted, in the waste country round about Sambhal and Amroha,⁶ and during all this time his head touched not bed or bolster. He was a man who took keen pleasure in contemplating God and whom the singing of God's praises threw into an ecstasy of delight, and ever, as he spoke and smiled, the name of God was on his tongue. In his last years the intoxication of joy which he experienced in his love for God so overpowered him that to listen but for a short space to the chanting of God's praises

¹ Sambhal was then the principal town of the *Sarkār* of the same name in the *Ṣūba* of Dihlī. It is now a *Taḥṣīl* town and Municipality in the Murādābād District. N.-W. P.

² Vide Vol. I (trans. Ranking), p. 428.

³ I.e., the ecstasy of the *Ṣūfis*, or mystics of Islām, which will be described hereafter.

⁴ Now a municipal town in the Sarāi Sidhū *Taḥṣīl* of the Multān District, Panjāb. (Hunter's "Imperial Gazetteer of India," xiii., 163.) Vide Badāonī I. (trans. Ranking), p. 389 n 2.

⁵ A family and order of ascetics. Vide *Āin-i-Akbarī*, Vol. III. trans. Jarrett, pp. 354, 357, 361, 369, 370, 422. Also *Tūz-ut-t-Jahāngīrī*, 'Aligarh edition (1864), p. 1, and preface, pp. 3, 4. *Āin-i-Akbarī*, Vol. I. (trans. Blochmann), p. 309, *Qīnūn-i-Islām* (Ja'far Sharīf and Dr. Herklots) ed., 1832, p. 289, and *Akbarnāma* text, p. 154.

⁶ A town in the *Sarkār* of Sambhal, *Ṣūba* of Dihlī. Vide *Āin-i-Akbarī*, Vol. I. (trans. Jarrett), p. 289.

placed him beside himself. He had not the strength to listen to hymns.

When I, in the year 960 A.H. (A.D. 1553), being then in my twelfth year, arrived in company with my father at Sambhal, and there entered the service of the Shaikh, I learnt by heart, in his hospice, the *Qaṣida-yi-burda*,¹ and thus gained admission (to the ranks of his disciples), and there I also read, to my great spiritual advantage and profit, part of the book *Kanz-i-fiqh-i-Hanafī*.² The Shaikh then enrolling me among his direct disciples said to my father, "I have bestowed upon your son the cap and the tree³ which descend from my spiritual teacher Miyān Shaikh 'Azizu-'llāh for this reason, that he may acquire also some exoteric knowledge" (i.e., beyond the esoteric knowledge which he was to acquire). And for this praise be to God. In the year 969 A.H. (A.D. 1561-2) the holy Shaikh went into God's Presence, and the words "the wise *darvīsh*"⁴ give the date of his death. May God make his dust fragrant! And it so happened that my father too received the summons of God's mercy in the same year. One might say that the position in

¹ There are two *Qaṣīdahs* which go by this name. The former, the original *Qaṣīdatu-'l-burda*, was written by Ka'bu-'bnu-Zuhair, in praise of Muḥammad, during the latter's lifetime. Muḥammad bestowed upon the poet as a reward his own *burdah* or cloak of striped cloth of Yaman. Hence the name given to the poem. The latter was written by Shaikh Sharafu-d-Dīn Abū 'Abdu-'llāh Muḥammad bin Sa'īd Būṣīrī, who died in 694 A.H. (1294 A.D.), and was at first named *Al Kawākibu-'d-darriyah* or "glittering stars." various reasons are given for the bestowal on it of the name *Qaṣīdatu-'l-burda*. This latter poem was also written in praise of Muḥammad. (Vide *Hāji Khalfā* Flügel, 1845, Vol. IV., 523-533.) The latter poem is the better known of the two, and it was probably this that Badā'oni learnt.

² This book was probably the *Kanzu-'d-daqa*, *iq fi furū'i-'l-Hanafīyyah* by Shaikh Al Imām Abū-'l-Barakāt 'Abdu-'llāhī bni-Aḥmad, known as Ḥāfiẓu-'d-dīnī-'n-Nasafī vide *Hāji Khalfā*, Vol. V. (ed. 1850), pp. 249-253. The author died in 710 A.H. (1310 A.D.).

³ شجره (Shajara) or شجر نامہ (Shajar-nāma) a list of saints, or holy predecessors, which is drawn up in the form of a genealogical tree, and should go back to the time of Muḥammad. It is delivered into the hands of a student when he is made either a *murīd* (disciple) or *Khalīfah* (deputy) as evidence of his spiritual descent. Vide *Qānūn-i-Islām* by Ja'far Sharīf and Dr. Horklots (1832), pp. 283, 300.

⁴ درویش دانیشمند (darvīsh-i-dānishmand) giving the figures

4+200+6+10+300+4+1+50+300+40+50+4=969.

which he stood to the Shāikh as his disciple made it necessary that he should so follow him.

II. SHAIKH JALĀLU'-D-DĪN OF TRĀNESAR.

He was the Khalifah¹ or deputy of Shāikh 'Abdu'-l-Quddūs of Gangoh² (may God sanctify their tombs!) His attainments, both in exoteric and in esoteric learning, were great, and he employed himself in imparting instruction in divinity and in the spreading abroad of those branches of knowledge which are, as the subject of divine revelation, certainly proved. In his last years he abandoned the pursuit of secular knowledge and, choosing privacy rather than publicity, spent his valuable time in reading through the blessed Qur'ān, in performing works of supererogation, and in praise and prayer. When he was ninety-three years of age he was exceedingly weak and feeble, so that there seemed to be nothing remaining of him but skin and bone.

Couplet.

When the veins of an aged man, in consequence of his abandonment of worldly desires, stand out on his skin.

Then it is that he becomes, as it were, a ruler to guide disciples in the way of righteousness.³

And although he had not so much strength left as enabled him to sit down and rise up⁴ and to move about, and used, in consequence of his feebleness and weakness, to lie all day long in a reclining position, yet no sooner did he hear the call to prayer than he would, without the assistance of anybody, rise

¹ Vide supra, note 1.

² Vide Āin-i-Akbari, Vol. I. (trans. Blochmann), pp. 538, 546, and Vol. III. (trans. Jarrett), p. 374. 'Abdu'-l-Quddūs asserted that he was descended from Abū Ḥanīfah. He died in A.H. 959 (A.D. 1543) and was buried at Gangoh, where he had lived. Gangoh is a town now in the Sahāranpūr Dist. N.-W. P.

³ The translation may not perhaps render the meaning of this couplet clear, owing to a confusion of terms. The word مسطر (*misṭar*) means "a ruler," the instrument for ruling lines. In the original Persian a comparison is drawn between the prominent veins of an emaciated old man, grown old in the way of holiness, and the ruler which directs the pen, or rather the hand of him who holds the pen, in a straight line.

⁴ The text omits the words برخاستن (*bar khūstan*) "to rise up," as does also MS. (B). In inserting them I follow MS. (A).

up, put on his shoes, take his staff in his hand, perform his ceremonial ablutions by himself and without any help, and stand up for his prayers.¹ This done he would again recline in his wonted position on his couch. I twice had the honour of attending on him, once in the year H. 969 (A.D. 1561-2), in Āgrā, when he had come there to settle the matter of his *aima*² holding in Thānesar³ and to have the subject represented, and again in the year A.H. 981 (A.D. 1573-4) when I was accompanying Husain Khān in his pursuit of Ulugh Mirzā.⁴ He seemed to me to be a quantity of (divine) light in bodily form. He bade farewell to this transitory world in the year A.H. 989 (A.D. 1581), May God remember him to his good!

III. SHAIKH MUHAMMAD GHAFS OF GWĀLIYĀR.⁵

He was the disciple of Shaiikh Zuhūr and Hājī Huzūr, other-

¹ The miraculous part of this fact is that the ceremonial prayers of Muslims contain various genuflexions and prostrations, in addition to the standing position. The ceremonial prayers are recited five times every day. This was no mean performance for an old man of 93 who had no strength to rise or stand on ordinary occasions. If what Badāoni says is true the probability is that Shaiikh Jalālu'd-Dīn, finding that the regular ceremonial prayers so exhausted him that he could not undergo any exertion in addition to them, kept his bed except at prayer times, reserving all his strength for his religious exercises.

² Lands held on *aima* tenure were rent-free grants given as *madad-i-ma'āsh*, or subsistence allowance, to deserving individuals. For an account of the troubles that used to befall persons who came to Court on business connected with *aima* holdings vide Badāoni, Vol. II. text pp. 201-5, trans. pp. 207-8.

³ A *maḥall* in the *sarkār* of Sarhind, *Ṣubāh* of Dihlī and a place of pilgrimage among the Hindus (*Āin-i-Akbarī* (trans.), Vol. II. 231). It is now a small town in the Ambāla district, Panjāb.

⁴ This happened before Badāoni left the service of Husain Khān for that of the Emperor. Husain Khān, nicknamed *Tukriya*, or "the patcher," from his having ordered Hindus, as unbelievers, to wear a patch on their garments near the shoulders, was "the Bayard and the Don Quixote of Akbar's reign" (Blochmann). For accounts of him vide *Āin-i-Akbarī*, Vol. I. (trans. Blochmann), p. 372. He was Badāoni's first patron. Ulugh Mirzā (whose name had been changed from Sikandar to Ulugh by the Emperor Hūmāyūn) was the elder son of Ulugh Mirzā, the eldest son of Muḥammad Sulṭān Mirzā of the House of Timūr. Muḥammad Sulṭān Mirzā was the great-great-grandson of 'Umar Shaiikh Mirzā, the second son of Timūr. He was thus a distant cousin of Akbar.

⁵ Gwalior, the famous fortress.

wise known as Hājī Hamid, and his spiritual descent could be traced back, through the line of the *Shattārī* order of ascetics to Shaikh Bāyazīd of Bustām,¹ the prince of knowers of God. (May God sanctify his soul!) When entering on the religious life he spent twelve years on the lower slopes of the hills of Canār² and the adjoining country, practising the most severe austerities, having his dwelling in caves and subsisting on the leaves of trees. He was an acknowledged master in the science of exorcism,³ he possessed supernatural power, and was drawn in a mysterious manner towards God.⁴ He obtained leave to practise this science (*scil.* exorcism) from his elder brother, Shaikh Buhlūl,⁵ who was a worker of miracles and wonders.

¹ Shaikh Bāyazīd of Bustām (a small town in the hills of Talarietān, between the ancient city of Rai and Nishāpur) was originally named Taifūr, and founded the *Taifūriyeh* order of ascetics. He is said to have been born in A.H. 126 (A.D. 753-4) and to have died at Bustām, the date of his death being variously given as A.H. 231, 234, 261, 262 and 269. One of his "spiritual descendants" was Shaikh 'Abdu-'Ilāh-i-Shattārī, who founded the *Shattārī* order. He came from Persia to India and died in Mālwa, where he is buried, in A.H. 849 (A.D. 1456). Jahāngir erected a mausoleum over his tomb in Māndū. The word شطاری (*Shattārī*) is derived from the Arabic root شطر (*Ṣiṭara*) meaning "he travelled in the direction of." Its meaning as applied to 'Abdu-'Ilāh and his followers is "one who outstrips and is quick in attaining nearness to God." In the language of the order علم شطاری (*ʿIlm-i-Shattārī*) means "the working and aspirations of the soul." From the facts of Badkoni applying the title *Sulṭān* to Shaikh Bāyazīd, and of Shaikh Muḥammad's penance of twelve years it is pretty clear that their conceptions of Bāyazīd were coloured by the ridiculous Indian legends concerning him,—unsavoury stories shewing a strong bias towards Hindu superstitions, and coined by wandering *fajirs* in order to invest with a spurious sanctity a cenotaph which they had erected in Bāyazīd's name at Cātgān (Chittagong).

² The famous fort on the Ganges, nineteen miles above Banāras.

³ دعوت اسماء Vido *Qāṣṣa-i-Islām* (Ja'far Sharif and Dr. Herklots, 1832) c. XXIX. Shaikh Muḥammad wrote a book under the title of الجواهر الخمسة (*Al-Jawāhir-ul-Khams*) "the five jewels." It is divided into five parts:—(1) on the worship of God, (2) on the ascetic life, (3) on exorcism, (4) on the recital of God's praises, (5) on the acts of those followers of the true path who have attained to knowledge.

⁴ جذب Vide art. الجذب in Sprenger's edition of the *Iṣṭilāḥāt-ṣ-Ṣūfiyyah*.

⁵ MSS. (A) and (B) have a word which looks like پهل (phāl) but بهلول (*Buhlūl*) is undoubtedly the correct reading.

His late Majesty, the Emperor Humāyūn, on whom God's mercy has descended, had the greatest faith in and attachment to these two saints, so much so that there were very few that ranked with them in his estimation. From these venerable men he learnt the science of exorcism. After the rebellion in India, when Shīr 5. Shāh began to oppress Shāikh Muḥammad, he betook himself to Gujarāt where also he brought princes and rulers under the yoke of subjection to him and ¹ belief in his teaching, so that all alike were ready to do him service. Shāikh Wajihu-'d-Dīn too, a knower and a ² doer of the things that belong to God, a profound thinker and a teacher, drew upon his shoulders the saddle-cloth of obedience to Shāikh Muḥammad. All these things are an indication of the Shāikh's perfections and of his power of working miracles. Many other great and famous holy men in Dihli, Gujarāt, and Bangāl have risen from the fringe of his robe,³ and memorials of his perfection still remain in Hindūstān. One day in the year H. 966 (A.D. 1558-9) I saw him from afar off, riding along in the market place at Āgra, a throng of the common people surrounding and preceding him, so that no one could pass through the crowd. In his courteous humility his head was never for one moment still, as he returned the salutations of the people on either side of him, bowing continually down to his saddle-bow. It was in this year that he came from Gujarāt to Āgra, and with much exhortation and persuasion, availing himself of the influence of those about the Court, enrolled the Emperor Akbar, then a youth, among his disciples, but the Emperor soon rejected his teaching, and since Shāikh Muḥammad's companionship was distasteful to the Khān-i-Khānān, Bairam Khān,⁴ and to Shāikh Gadāi,⁵ he withdrew, ill pleased,

¹ The text omits the words اعتقاد و after إقياد, although they appear in both MSS.

² The text omits the word عامل after عالم, although it appears in both MSS. Shāikh Wajihu-'d-Dīn is mentioned in the *Tubaqāt-i-Akbarī*, vide also *Āin-i-Akbarī* I. (trans. Blochmann) *passim* and *Akbarnāma* (text), III. 63-744.

³ i.e., have "sat at his feet."

⁴ The famous Bairām Khān, Khān-i-Khānān, also entitled Khān Bābā. He was Akbar's *atāliq* or tutor. He was assassinated by an Afghān named Mubārak on the 14th Jamādī I. A H. 968 (A.D. 1561).

⁵ Shāikh Gadāi was a Shī'ah who had been appointed *Ṣadru-'l-Ṣudūr* on the recommendation of Bairām Khān, whom he had joined in Gujarāt. He

to Gwāliyār, where he spent his time in perfecting his disciples, and, having built an hospice, occupied himself with the ecstatic dances of *darvīshes*,¹ chanting, and giving way to transports of religious ecstasy.² He himself also wrote books on these subjects. Clad in the garments of poverty he held a high and majestic position, and possessed a subsistence allowance of a *karor* of *tankas*.³ Whomsoever he saw, were he a beggar even, he treated with great honour, standing before him. For this reason some few from among those who were vowed to poverty blamed him, and denied (that he was a true ascetic).⁴ But God alone knows what his motives were in this matter.

Couplet.

Since God in His omniscience alone knows whether a soul is
to be rejected or accepted,

"Judge not lest thou be judged."⁵

6.

In the year H. 970 (A.D. 1562-3), after completing his eightieth

was Šadr till A.H. 968. Vide Badāonī, Vol. II, text, pp. 29, 30, trans., pp. 22, 23, 24. For the disappointment of *Shāikh* Muḥammad *Ghaus* at Court vide Badāonī, Vol. II, text, pp. 34, 35, trans., pp. 28, 29.

¹ *سماع* (*samā*).

² *وجد* (*vajd*).

³ The *tanka* was worth about 4d. Badāonī's statement means that *Shāikh* Muḥammad *Ghaus* had a yearly allowance of £166,666. 13s. 4d., or its equivalent in land. It is hardly possible that he can have possessed such a grant, either in land or money. Badāonī probably uses the word *کرور* indefinitely, to signify "a large sum," or it may be that the *tanka* referred to was the *tanka-yi-siyāh*, a copper coin, worth only $\frac{6}{64}$ of the silver *tanka*. (vide

Badāonī, Vol. I, trans. Ranking, p. 87, n. 1.) This would bring *Shāikh* Muḥammad's annual allowance to £15,625 sterling, still an incredibly large sum.

⁴ The objection of other "holy men" to the manners of Muḥammad *Ghaus* will be understood by those who have any experience of the manners, or rather lack of them, displayed by most "holy men" in India. Affecting complete indifference to all worldly matters, they too frequently attempt to establish a claim to superior sanctity by means of a demeanour of insulting indifference towards all with whom they are brought in contact. Numerous instances of this occur in history, the eccentricities of "holy men" being generally tolerated, just as the quips of professional jesters were formerly tolerated in Europe.

⁵ Literally "Beware of bringing forward the faults of others, for to do so is a fault in thee."

year, he died in Āgra, leaving this world for the next, and was buried in Qwāliyār. He was generous to a degree, and it is said that the word "I" never passed his lips, and that he always referred to himself as "this humble one." So particular was he in this matter that even when giving away corn in charity he would say "Mim and Nān,¹ give this much corn to such an one," in order to avoid the necessity of saying "I." May God shower his mercy plentifully upon him !

IV. SHAIKH BURHĀN.

Burhān was an ascetic of great resignation and piety, and a very prince among those who have chosen a life of religious seclusion and retirement, and of independence of worldly concerns. It is said that he was once for three days in company with Miyān Ilāhdād of Bārī,² of the spiritual line of the famous Mir Sayyid Muḥammad of Jaunpur,³ (may God sanctify his soul), there being only one intermediary between them, and that it was on that occasion that he acquired this excellence, and attained to perfection. He had subjected himself to severe discipline and possessed great self-control. For nearly fifty years (before his death) he had abstained from flesh-meat and from most other articles of food and drink, contenting himself with a little milk and some sweet-meats; and at the end of his life he abstained also from drinking water, so that to outward appearance he was an incorporeal spiritual form, supernaturally illuminated. He had in Kālpi a very small and dark cell in which he constantly

¹ i.e. م and ن, the letters of which the word من is composed. This practice may appear to be an absurd affectation of humility, but it must be remembered that too free a use of the first person, whether in writing or in conversation is, even at the present day, and among men who lay no special claim to sanctity, considered a breach of etiquette among Orientals.

² There are three places of this name given by Sir W. W. Hunter in his *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. One is a town in Tahsil Sidhauri, Dist. Sitāpūr, Oudh; another is a village in the Garhwāl State, N.-W. P.; and the third is a town in the Dholpur State, Rājputāna. I cannot identify the Miyān's abode. Bārī was also the name given by Akbar to the Dūāb between the Bijāh and the Rāwī. Four worthies of the name of Ilāhdād are commemorated in this Vol., viz : Nos. XIII, XXXV, LXIII and LXX, ch. ii.

³ At one time the capital of a Muḥammadan kingdom. Now the chief town of the District of the same name in the N.-W. P. Mir Sayyid Muḥammad, the *Mahdavi* will be subsequently referred to.

sat. engaged in reciting God's praises and in meditation and contemplation. He used also to retain his breath,¹ after the fashion of the *Mahdavis*, and although he had never studied any of the sciences treated of in Arabic literature he used to give most eloquent dissertations on the *Qur'ān*. He was a reader of the secrets of human hearts. When I was returning from Canār (Chunār) in A.H. 967 (A.D. 1559-60) during the rule of 'Abdu-'llāh Khān the Ūzbak² I spent a night in attendance on the *Shaiikh*, whose conversation was sublime. He recited, appositely 7. to the occasion, some of his own Hindi poetry of which the subjects were exhortation, admonition, mysticism,³ the longing of the human soul for God,⁴ the Unity of God, and withdrawal from the world. The next day Mihr 'Alī Sildūz,⁵ who, in spite of his friendship towards holy men, was to some extent a slave to his own Turkish nature, and was something of a bully and a tyrant,

[I have been the slave of that man of perfect nature, from the day on which he said,

"The Turk, though he become a *mullā*, can never become a man."]

was honoured, by means of an introduction from me, with an interview with the *Shaiikh*. Now it so happened that about an

¹ پاسِ انفاس (*pāsi-i-anfās*) lit. "guarding, or holding, the inspirations and respirations." *Hindū-tāni* دم بڑھانا (*dam barhānā*) and دم سادھنا (*dam sādhnā*). A practice borrowed from Hindu ascetics.

² Vide *Jin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, (trans. Blochmann), pp. 320-1. He was a noble of Humāyūn's Court. Having been by Akbar appointed to the government of Mālwa, he re-conquered that province and reigned in Māndū like a king, whence the expression in the text. Akbar moved against him and he fled. After many wanderings and vicissitudes he made his way to Jaunpūr, where he died a natural death during the rebellion of Khān-i-Zamān (A.H. 974 = A.D. 1567).

³ تصوف (*taṣawwuf*) the mysticism of the Sūfis.

⁴ ذوق (*ẓawq*). Vide *Iṣtilāḥāt-u-'l-Sūfiyyah* (Dr. Sprenger, 1845), p. 162.

⁵ In the previous year (A.H. 966 = A.D. 1558-9) Mihr 'Alī Khān Sildūz had been sent to Canār to treat with Jamāl Khān, the Afghān commandant, who wished to hand over the fort to the Mughals for a consideration. Jamāl Khān, however, did not deem Akbar's offer of five *parganas* near Jaunpūr sufficient and the negotiations fell through, whereupon Mihr 'Alī returned to Āgra with Badāonī who had accompanied him to Canār. Mihr 'Alī who

hour before this time he had severely beaten and kicked some of his servants and attendants, and had abused them in most unbecoming language before mounting his horse to go for a ride. When we sat down together the first words the Shaiikh uttered were, "The prophet (may God bless and save him!) said, 'The (true) Muslim is he who (courteously) salutes (other) Muslims both with his hand and with his tongue.'" The Shaiikh uttered this precious aphorism and sublime truth with special reference to the occasion, and Mihr 'Ali rose to his feet for the purpose of excusing himself, and, after expressing his contrition and shame he begged the Shaiikh to recite the *fātiḥah*¹ on his behalf, offering to him, at the same time, something by way of a present, which was not accepted.

The Shaiikh reached the age of nearly one hundred years and departed this life in the year A.H. 970 (A.D. 1562-3). I have made the following chronogram on his death:—

My heart said he was the chief of Saints.²

In accordance with the terms of his will he was buried in the cell to which he had retired—may God shed light upon his resting-place!

V. SHAIKH MUḤAMMAD-I-KAMBŪ,³ OF SAMBHAL.

8. He belonged to the *Qādirī*⁴ order. On first entering the religious life he subjected himself to a most rigorous discipline. He was a man who was mysteriously drawn towards God⁵ and was subject to fits of religious ecstasy. He had a sweet voice and when he was in one of his fits of ecstasy he would chant so

was at this time a *Beg* was afterwards created *Khān* and Governor of Citor (Chitor). For an account of Mihr 'Ali's mission vide Badāonī, Vol. II., text, pp. 32-34; trans., pp. 26-28. Mihr 'Ali had evidently a great regard for Badāonī. *Sildāz* is the name of a Caghatai clan.

1 The opening chapter of the *Qur'ān*. Its recital, in combination with a gift made to a holy man, forms an offering to God.

2 شیخ اولیا برد giving $300 + 10 + 600 + 1 + 6 + 30 + 10 + 1 + 2 + 6 + 4 = 970$.

3 The name of a tribe to which the famous Shahbāz *Khān*, Commander of two thousand in Akbar's reign, belonged. Vide *Āin-i-Akbarī*, Vol. I (trans. Blochmann), pp. 399-402.

4 A religious order founded by *Shaiikh* Muhiyyūn-'d-dīn 'Abdu-'l-Qādir-i-Jīlī, a Sayyid of the race of Ḥusain. Jīl is a village near Baghādād. Vide *Āin-i-Akbarī*, text II., 212.

5 ذوق (ẓauq) vide *Istilahāt*-i-ṣ-Ṣūfiyyah (Spronger) sub voce.

sweetly as to touch the hearts of all who heard him ; the flavour of that ecstatic song still lingers on the palate of my soul. In his earlier years he acquired exoteric knowledge and was engaged in teaching. He had an ardent love for such forms as display, in their beauty, the power of the Creator, nor was he ever at any time free from the bonds of that love which is transferred from the Creator to the creature,¹ and when in these bonds he lost all self-control, and, putting aside all dissimulation and restraint took no account of the praise or blame of others, careless alike of their disapprobation and their approval. For this reason was he known as Shaiḫ Muḥammad-i-‘Āshiq, or “the lover.” In A.H. 985 (A.D. 1579) he transferred the baggage of his existence to that land where the soul is united to God.² The words “the sixth of Sharrvāl”³ give the date of his death. May God make his soul fragrant !

VI. SHAIKH FAKHRU’D-DIN.

He was an old man in whom shone the Divine Light, ascetic in his habits, having complete trust in God, and uncontrollable religious enthusiasm. He lived a retired and solitary life, keeping the door of ingress and egress shut to himself. Every Friday

¹ عشق مجازی (*‘ishq-i-majāzī*). This Sūfī-istic expression requires some explanation. مجازی is an adjective formed from the Arabic word مجاز which means literally “a thing transferred from one place to another,” and hence “a metaphor,” or “trope.” It was a belief among the Sūfīs that the love of a creature for the Creator, a love which they named عشق (*‘ishq*), might be manifested in that creature’s love for other creatures. The word عشق means “sexual love,” and was no doubt originally used by pious Sūfīs to denote the love of a creature for the Creator in consequence of the ecstatic nature of that love. Setting aside the profanity of placing love for God, and a passion (not necessarily love) for a creature on the same, or nearly the same footing, it may easily be conceived that the idea that the latter differed but slightly in merit from the former furnished an excuse for the vilest sensuality, the nature of which need not be touched upon here.

² The expression used here (دارالوصال—*dāru’l-wiṣāl*) is a further reference to the Sūfī-istic notion described in note 1. The mention of ‘blame’ and ‘disapprobation’ is sufficient to indicate the nature of Muḥammad Kambū’s “love” for the creature.

³ ششم از شوال (*shishum az Sharrvāl*), giving 300+300+40+1+7+300+6+1+30=935. This is a neat chronogram, the words themselves giving the day of the month and the letters of which they are composed the year in

he held in his hospice a meeting of *Sūfīs*,¹ and would insist upon the assembly joining in ecstatic songs and dances, and, how much soever one might excuse himself from this, the *Shaiikh* would work himself up into a state of religious ecstasy, and his phrensy would extend, in its full power, to the rest. On the conclusion of this religious exercise food was served. The *Shaiikh* made no distinction between king and beggar. Bairām Khān, the Khān-i-Khūnān,² used generally to recite his Friday prayers in the *Shaiikh's masjid*, and the effects of his companionship with the *Shaiikh* were seen in his increased tenderness of heart. In sitting down and rising, in taking food, and in all other observances of etiquette no difference was made by the *Shaiikh* between him and anybody else.

9.

VII. SHAIKH 'AZĪZU-'LLĀH.

He was a conspicuous example of the degree of divine knowledge which is within the reach of man. He was a very crucible of love for God, in which the pure gold of his being was ever at melting heat, until it reached the extreme limit of refinement and purity. This being his condition he was constantly weeping in his ardent desire for God, to such an extent that the world has never seen his equal. No sooner did the sound of a holy song or chant fall upon his ear than one would say that a violent wind had arisen, and was blowing through a fiery tempest. Praise be to God! What love and affection for God were seen in the noble nature of that great man! In the phrensiéd dance (of *darvishes*) and when he was vying with other mystics in working

which the *Shaiikh* died. A similar chronogram has been composed for the date of Bābar Shāh's birth, viz:—شش محرم (the sixth of Muharram) giving A.H. 888.

¹ The mystics of *Islām*. Some reference to their extraordinary doctrines has already been made. Their mysticism is "a hypertrophy of the religious feelings," "a monomania in which man blasphemously attempts to fathom the depths of the essence of God." (Sprenger. Preface to "*Iḡlāl-hātū-'s-Sūfiyyah*," 1845).

² Bairām Khān was a *Shi'ah* by religion. He was a pious Muslim, and long desired to make the pilgrimage to the Hijāz. He had no opportunity of doing so until after Akbar's ostrangement from him (Badāonī II (text), p. 38, (translation), p. 32). He was assassinated in Gujarāt on his way to Makkah, in A. H. 908 (A.D. 1500), vide *Ām-i-Akbarī* (trans. Blochmann) II, p. 315.

himself up into a state of ecstasy,¹ occupations which formed the morning and evening exercises of his blessed condition, a flint, could it have looked upon his face, would have become softer than wax.

Shaikh 'Azīzu-'llāh had been the disciple of his own respected father, Shaikh Ḥasan, and acquired some of his excellence from his own elder brother, Shaikh Muḥammad Ḥasan, the spiritual guide and master of Shaikh Mān of Pānīpat. His life was governed by the rules of poverty, indigence, and humility. To champion the cause of the poor and helpless who came to him with their complaints he would travel long distances on foot, even though he had at the time entered into a forty days' retreat,² and though he had to visit the house of one who was without the pale of the faith in order to gain his object. After successfully fulfilling the wants of the applicant he would return to the cell of retirement and engage in his religious exercises as though no break had occurred in his retreat. He used to give to this worship, which benefited others, precedence and place before that worship the rewards of which are confined to the worshipper.³ And it would sometimes happen that an unbeliever or an oppressor would pay no heed to his intercession on the first occasion, or, (knowing that the Shaikh was without), would purposely remain within doors, and the Shaikh would sit the livelong day expectant at his door, without being able to see his face. But on successive days⁴ the Shaikh would go again and

¹ Vide Hughes, "Dictionary of Islām" s. v. *ḡīkr*.

² اعتكاف اربعين (*'itikāf-i-arba'ina*). "Sometimes a *Ḥāḍir* enters a solitary cell, and remains in it for forty days and nights, fasting from daybreak till sunset the whole of this period." They "employ their time in repeating the testimony of the faith, imploring forgiveness, praising God, etc." (Lane's "Modern Egyptians," ed. 1860, p. 244). This was the nature of the retreats observed by Shaikh 'Azīzu-'d-Dīn, and that he allowed them to be thus interrupted says much for his practical piety. He continued his period of retreat as though it had not been interrupted.

³ The translation of this passage is unavoidably ponderous. The original is exceedingly neat, and, translated literally, runs, "He gave place and preference to this *transitive* worship over *intransitive* worship." The terms are borrowed from grammar. The trope is somewhat obscure in English.

⁴ Lit. "The next day:" but from the use of the word مكرراً (*mukarrar*) "frequently," it is clear that the Shaikh did not confine himself to a second day's attendance only.

again¹ to his door and would sit in silence, nor would this slighting treatment produce on the clear mirror of his heart, which reflected the hidden knowledge of God, the rust of resentment. He would thus sit until the person to whom the intercession was to be made fell, shamed and remorseful, at his feet, and promptly and obediently fulfilled the desire of the beggar.

One day the Shaiikh was present at a meeting of the mystics engaged in ecstatic songs and dances, as their custom is,² held by that prince of holy men Shaiikh Nizām-i-Auliya, (may God sanctify his most pure tomb!), when a wretched maniac, uttering a yell, seized the Shaiikh by the knees, and, lifting him up, turned him heels over head on the floor, so that his turban was disarranged, and he was hurt, but in outward appearance³ he was in no way disturbed. At the time this act of the maniac was attributed to religious ecstasy and he was held to be excused, but the demented fool repeated his abominable trick on a subsequent occasion, when the magistrate of the city proposed to recall his scattered senses by means of a severe caution, a beating, and threats of what would happen to him in the future. The Shaiikh made much intercession for him, and, kissing his hands and feet, kept him under his own protection, and did not suffer them to molest him in any way. In exoteric knowledge he was perfect himself,⁴ and used to perfect

¹ The text inserts here the words یدربار او (*bi-darbār-i-ū*) "to his levée," which occur in neither MS., and are clearly an interpolation. They convey a wrong impression, for the context shews us that the Shaiikh sat at the door of the oppressor. If he had gone to his levée he would at least have had an opportunity of speaking to him, which we are told he had not, until the oppressor, hearing of the Shaiikh's continued attendance, felt compunction.

² This passage, and the fact mentioned in it, that the maniac's rude practical joke was attributed to religious ecstasy, give us some insight into the nature of the religious exercises of the Sūfīs.

³ The word here used is بشرة (*bagharah*) the primary meaning of which is "the external skin," "the cuticle, or epidermis." It also means (*vide Lane "Arabic Lexicon," sub voce*) "the complexion." The meaning of the passage is clear. The Shaiikh did not even change colour.

⁴ کامل - مکمل بود. This passage may also be translated "In exoteric knowledge he was a perfect man made perfect," if we mark the last syllable of مکمل with نتیجه. I prefer to mark it with کسر, and translate it as above, for the mention of the Shaiikh's teaching, immediately following this sentence, seems to me to indicate that مکمل is to be taken as an active and

others, and he used to instruct his pupils in the expounding of the 'Arḍ'is,¹ and of the 'Aṣḥārīf² and of the *Fuṣūṣu'l-Hikam*³ and its commentary. He was also the author of some well-known works, among them being the *Ri-āla-yi-'Ainiyyah* written as a reply to the *Ghāriyyih*⁴ of Shaiḥ Mān of Pānīpat. Many obscure questions relating to the unity of essence⁵ are therein treated of,⁶ in accordance with the interpretation of perfect knowers of God.⁷

not as a passive participle. No diacritical point is given, either in the text or in the MSS.

¹ There are five well-known works having the word عرئس ('arḥīc) as part of their title. The work here mentioned is without any doubt the 'Arḥīc-u'l-Bayān ("Brides of explanation") by Shaiḥ Abī Muḥammad Rūzbihān Ibn Abī'l-nazārī-l-Baqilī of Shirāz, the Ṣūfī (died A.H. 666 = A.D. 1269-10). This book is a commentary on the *Qur'ān*, from the point of view of the Ṣūfīs. (Hāji Khalfā IV. 195).

² The work here referred to is the 'Aḥḥād-u'l-Ma'ārif—"bounty (in diffusing) the knowledge of God"—, a book on the mysticism of the Ṣūfīs, written by Shaiḥ Shihābu'd-dīn Abī Ḥafṣ 'Umar Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abdī'l-Hāshī Sahravardī, who died in A.H. 632 (A.D. 1234-35). (Hāji Khalfā IV. 275).

³ The *Fuṣūṣu'l-Hikam*, (articulations of the sciences), is a work by Muḥyyn'u'd-dīn Abī 'Abdī'l-Hāshī Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī, known as Ibn 'Arabīyī-l-Ṭā'i-l-Hāsimī-l-Andalusī (died A.H. 638 = A.D. 1240-41). The book is divided into twenty-seven "articulations" or "joints," each containing the wise sayings of some prophet or sage, commencing with Adam, and going on to Shaiḥ (Seth), Nūḥ (Noah), Idrīs (Enoch), Ibrāhīm (Abraham), Ishāq (Isaac) and others. The (reputed) sayings of our Saviour appear in the sixteenth "articulation." (Hāji Khalfā IV. 125 et seq.).

⁴ I cannot find any mention of these treatises elsewhere, but it is clear that they were polemical works on the theology, or rather mysticism, of the Ṣūfīs.

⁵ I.e., the essential unity of all things. The doctrine of the Ṣūfīs on this point is practically pantheism. "All things being of God, it follows that there is nothing that is not a portion of God,"—is their argument. Some have followed this argument to its logical conclusion by declaring that they themselves are God.

⁶ In this place the text inserts the particle و (w) "and." The word is found in neither of the MSS. and destroys the sense.

⁷ The expression here used is أرباب شهود (arḥāb-i-shuhūd) or "lords of (i.e., they who have experienced) ocular perception of God." This is a Ṣūfī-istic term the meaning of which is sufficiently well represented by the translation. Vide *Intihā'at-i-Ṣūfīyah*, sub voce شهود.

At the time of the Khān-i-Khānān's disgrace,¹ and also for some years afterwards, I studied under that master of perfection, and listened to the recital of several books and treatises on mysticism,² and digested their contents—praise be to God. In the year H. 975 (A.D. 1567-68) the falcon of his soul winged its flight to the pinnacle of eternity, and the words "the pole-star of the path is gone,"³ were found to give the date of his death. He always wrote himself in his treatises, writings, and letters "the worthless atom," and it was found that the words "the worthless atom"⁴ also gave the date of his death.

11.

VIII. SHAIKH SALĪM-I-CISHTĪ.⁵

He was one of the descendants of the venerable Shaiikh Farid-i-

¹ A.H. 967 (A.D. 1559-60) vide Badāoni II (text), pp. 35 *et seqq.*

² تصوّف (*taṣawwuf*) the mysticism of the *Ṣūfis*.

³ قطب طریقت نمائند 100+9+2+9+200+10+100+400+50+40+1+50+4=975.

⁴ Not quite exactly. ذرّ ناچیز *give* 700+200+5+50+1+3+10+7=976 vide Badāoni II. text, pp. 105-106.

⁵ Shaiikh Salīm-i-Cishtī was highly honoured by Akbar. When the emperor desired a son he had recourse, by the advice of his courtiers, to Shaiikh Salīm, who assured him that his prayers would be answered. Akbar promised to place the son, when he should be born, under the tutorship of Shaiikh Salīm, and the Shaiikh stipulated that he should be named after him. This was agreed to. When Jodh Bāi, the Jodhpūr princess who was married to Akbar, became pregnant, she was sent, when the time of her confinement drew near, to Shaiikh Salīm's house, where she was delivered of a son, who in accordance with the Shaiikh's stipulation was named Sultān Salīm, and who afterwards succeeded to the throne as the Emperor Jahāngīr. In gratitude for the gift of a son Akbar performed a pilgrimage on foot to the tomb of Khāja Mu'īnu-d-Dīn Cishtī in Ajmir, distant rather more than 200 miles from Agra. He travelled twelve *kurūh* or *kos* a day, reaching Ajmir on the 17th day after leaving Agra, (he must have rested several days on the way). Jahāngīr says that he never heard his father, drunk or sober, call him either Muḥammad Salīm or Sultān Salīm, but that he always called him Shaiikhū Bābā (in honour of the Shaiikh). Shaiikh Salīm lived at Sikrī, a village twelve *kurūh* distant from Agra. The birth of Jahāngīr at Sikrī under these circumstances caused Akbar to believe that the place was a particularly fortunate one for him, and led to the founding of the town of Fathpūr Sikrī, afterwards the favourite residence of Akbar (*Āin-i-Akbarī*, Vol. I. *passim*, *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, 'Aligarh edition, p. 1 and preface, pp. 2-5; also Badāoni, text II. 103, 103). Jahāngīr gives the distance from Agra to Ajmir as 140 *kurūh*.

Shakarganj¹ (may God sanctify his soul), and his native place was Dihli. He stood in the relation of a disciple to Khājah Ibrāhīm (who was spiritually descended through five intermediaries from the most bountiful Khājā, the ascetic Fuzail Ibn 'Iyāz²—may the mercy of God be upon him!) through whose instrumentality also he was first turned towards God. He twice travelled by land and sea from India to the two most holy places of pilgrimage,³ there to perform the duties of the pilgrimage.⁴ He set

¹ One of the most famous and popular of Indian saints, possessing cenotaph shrines in various places in Hindustan and the Dakhan. His father, Kamālū'd-Dīn Sulaimān, was a descendant of Farrukh Shāh, ruler of Kābul. He was born in A.H. 584 (A.D. 1188) "in the Qaṣbah (*pargana* town) of Khotwāl," near Multān whither his father had come from Kābul, and where he had married. By the advice of his spiritual guide (Khājā Qutbu'd-Dīn Bakhtiyār-i-Kākī), he went through the ordinary course of studies, "for a devotee without learning is the Devil's jester." He studied for five years in Qandahār, and then went to Dihlī to see Qutbu'd-Dīn. There he remained as his disciple until his fame was so much noised abroad that he was pestered by the numbers of people who came to see him, when he retired to Hānsī. On Qutbu'd-Dīn's death Farīdu'd-Dīn came to Dihlī to succeed him, again retiring to Hānsī at the earnest request of the people of that place and in search of peace. Being still annoyed by visitors at Hānsī he made Shaiikh Jamālū'd-Dīn of that place his deputy there, and set out in search of some secluded spot, at last selecting as his residence Ajūdhan, since called Pattan of Shaiikh Farīd, or Pāk Pattan. There he lived and married and had a family. His principal troubles there were due to the jealousy of the local Qāḍī. For the various stories accounting for his name of Shakarganj or Ganj-i-Shakar (treasure house of sweets), vide Farīḡhta, Bombay text. Vol. II, in the account of his life, also Āīn-i-Akbarī (trans. Jarrett) III. 363, 364 note. Farīḡhta gives the date of his death as A.H. 760 (A.D. 1358), a manifest error, as his age is given as 95, which would make the year of his death A.H. 679 (A.D. 1280).

² Al Fuzail Ibn 'Iyāz-t-Tālakānī. A famous ascetic, born at either Abīward or Samarqand. He was called At-Tālakānī from the town of Tālakān in Khurāsān. He began life as a highway robber but was miraculously converted to God. He died at Makkah in the month of Muḥarram A.H. 187 (Jan. A.D. 803). Vide Ibn Khallikān (trans. de Slane) II. 478-480. Fuzail's name is given in the text as Faḡl, though both MSS. have Fuzail.

³ حرمین الشریفین (*ḥaramaini-sh-sharīfain*), i.e., Makkah and Madīnah.

⁴ طواف (*ṭawāf*) circumambulation. Although the word is used here in connection with both Makkah and Madīnah, the only circumambulation enjoined (Qur'ān xxii. 27) is that of the Ka'bah at Makkah, which is performed seven times. The ceremony is, however, commonly performed by Indian Muslims, at any rate, at any holy place, such as the grave of a Shaiikh.

forth on his travels, journeying to Asia Minor, Baghḍād, Syria, Najaf,¹ (that holy spot), and other countries of the western regions, spending the whole year in travelling, returning to the glorious city of Makkah at the time of the pilgrimage, and then again setting out on his travels. In this manner he performed the pilgrimage twenty-two times, fourteen times during his first period of absence from India, and eight times during his second period of absence. On this latter occasion he spent four years in the glorious city of Makkah and four years in the delightful city of Madinah, and during his sojourn in Makkah he used to spend the period during which Muḥammad's birthday occurred in Madinah, and the period of the pilgrimage at Makkah. Shaikh Ya'qūb of Kashmir who accompanied Shaikh Salim gave the date of his latter visit to Makkah in the following couplets :—

Thanks be to God, of whose mere bounty
The holy region became our halting-place.
If any one ask the date of this event
We answer him, " We entered the holy region." *

And in that country he was known as Shaikh-l-Hind, or the holy man of India. He reached the age of ninety-five and travelled always in the path of the holy law delivered by the prophet (may God bless and save him!), always observing the most severe austerities and the most austere discipline, to a degree which can have been attained by but few of the holy men of this age. He observed, as a religious duty, the ceremonial purification and bathing before each of the five daily recitals of prayers, nor did he omit this duty before the weekly public prayers.

12. When Shaikh Mān of Pānīpat, (may God sanctify his tomb!), enjoyed companionship with Shaikh Salim he put to him this question :—" Was it induction or revelation that was the means of your attaining to your goal ? " Shaikh Salim replied, " Our means is ' heart to heart.' " * Very many holy men who have

¹ Najaf, or Mashhad 'Alī, (the shrine of 'Alī) a town in 'Irāq-i-'Arab, on the Bahr-i-Najaf (Lake of Najaf) and near the ruins of Kūfa. Here 'Alī, the nephew and son-in-law of Muḥammad, is buried.

* دخلنا الحرم giving $4+600+30+50+1+1+30+8+200+40=961$.

The method of the Ṣūfis. They are "the elect," those to whom God more especially reveals Himself, drawing them to Himself with mysterious

reached perfection received their training in his service and companionship, and became his deputies and successors. Among them was the Shaiḫh¹ who after being perfected received authority to impart religious instruction to other disciples, and whose history is wellknown. Another was Shaiḫh Kamāl of Alwar, an old man inflamed and enwrapped with zeal, resembling in disposition the leaders among holy men. Another was Shaiḫh Piyāra of Bangāl, a man distracted with the grief of longing after God. His fame is great in the country of Bangāl.² Another was Shaiḫh Faṭḥu-'llāh Tarin of Sambhal. Another was Shaiḫh Ruknu-'d-din of Ajūdhan,³ and another was Husain the Khādim, who was the best of Shaiḫh Salim's deputies, and the midmost pearl in the string (of his disciples). He was the chief decider of abstruse questions in the hospice at Faṭḥpūr. When Shaiḫh Salim returned a second time to India the writer of these lines heard that he had attained to an extensive knowledge of, and pre-eminent proficiency in the Arabic language. I therefore sent him a letter containing two chronograms⁴ of his two auspicious arrivals, which have been mentioned above. A verbatim copy of the letter is set forth below.

bonds, and inflaming their hearts with an ardent love for Him. *Vide* my note on their doctrines, *supra*.

¹ The name of this Shaiḫh is not given either in MS. (A) or in MS. (B). The general sense of the passage indicates that the name has been omitted, probably by a copyist's error. As the passage stands it is impossible to identify the Shaiḫh.

² دیارینک. "The original name of Bengal was Bang." *Ain-i-Akbari* text. I. 358.

³ Or Pattan, where is the tomb of Shaiḫh Faridu-'d-din Shakarganj, *vide supra*, p. 19 n. 1

⁴ For the two chronograms here referred to, *vide* Badāoni II, (text) p. 73. I feel bound to remark. Here, in order to save readers who cannot avail themselves of the original text some perplexity, that the passage just referred to has been completely mistranslated by Mr. Lowe. His translation makes Shaiḫh Salim write an Arabic letter to Badāoni, whereas it was Badāoni that wrote this Arabic letter to Shaiḫh Salim. These remarks are, I regret to say, absolutely necessary, as the passage in vol. II, referred to contains a reference to the Arabic letter here translated, a reference which must necessarily be unintelligible to readers who are bound to rely on the translation, and who cannot be expected to study closely the long list of *errata* at the end of the volume.

what is incumbent on the neck of one of your slaves¹ and on the conscience of my soul may it become clear to your enlightened mind, the mirror of what is hidden, aye, to your great heart, the mirror of certainty, that not the half of a line of the hardship of separation from you and of the violence of the pain of longing after you can be contained in vessels of letters,² should all the trees in the earth become pens, and should the sea (become ink) with seven more seas³ to swell its tide, in the passage of time and its changes. And the heart is the most faithful witness, as is well affirmed.

Verse.

"God knows that my soul has perished

"With desire of thee, but thou revivest it ;⁴

"And a sight of thee, Oh, object of my desire, and my hope !

"Is more pleasant to me than the world and all that it contains."

And your slave, distracted with love, has striven with an utter striving and has endeavoured with a supreme effort to obtain the

¹ The text has الرقية. MS. (A) has الرقية which makes better sense and which is the reading adopted by me.

² في ظروف الحروف, i.e., in the vessels (or receptacles) of letters of the alphabet. The simile is clear.

³ This text from the Qur'ân (xxxi. 26) is not quite fully quoted. The text runs :—

وَلَوْ أَنَّ مَا فِي الْأَرْضِ مِنْ شَجَرَةٍ أَقْلَامٌ وَالْبَحْرُ يَمْدُ مِنْ بَعْدِهِ مِثْقَالُ ذَرَّةٍ
وَأَبْرَارٌ مَا نَفَذْتُ كَلِمَاتُ اللَّهِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَزِيزٌ حَكِيمٌ -

"Even though all the trees on the earth should become pens, and the sea (ink) with seven more seas to swell its tide, the words of God would not be spent ; verily God is mighty, wise !"

The misapplication of it is apparent. Badāonī substitutes for "the words of God" the affection which he bears to the *Shaiikh*. This savours somewhat of irreverence, and reminds us of the way in which Scripture was quoted in the days of Praise-God Barebone.

⁴ This Hemistich appears, both in the text, and in the two MSS. in the following form :—

شوقاً إليك ولكن إميها

The hemistich, thus written, will neither scan nor make sense. The text has

felicity¹ of enjoying your noble company, and of hearing some of your polished discourse, but Fate assists not my designs, and ascent to the heaven of eminence is no easy matter.

Verses.

It is not everything that man desires that he obtains,
The wind blows in the direction which the ships do not
desire.

14. In spite of this my reliance on the noble beneficence² of God is firm, and my hope in His gracious and boundless favours is sincere, (my hope being) that my eye may be suffused with light by the sight of your beauty, even as my heart is filled with the contemplation of the idea of you. Verily, God answereth our prayers and doth not disappoint us.

Verses.

I place my hope in God for the attainment of gifts,
And my Lord is the giver of what his slave desires.

And it is not far from your wonderful beneficence that you should give me to read an odour-diffusing epistle and send for me with a kind invitation. It is not fitting that the footsteps of my pen should wander more than this over the carpet of familiarity, and that the dove of composition should (any longer) sing on the branch of the tree of glee, and it is best to stop short at this period, and most meet and fitting to curtail (my letter) at the point of prayer (for you). May your exalted nature not cease

a footnote:—"Sic in all three copies; a word has evidently been omitted here."

Mr. R. F. Azoo, Arabic Instructor to the Board of Examiners, informs me that these lines are a quotation, though he cannot remember from where, and that the correct reading of this hemistich is:—

شوقاً إليك ولكن أنت نسيبها

I have therefore adopted this reading, and have translated accordingly.

¹ The text has *بسطى*, a misprint for *بسطى*.

² The text and MSS. have *الكرام إلا لبيد* which does not make sense. We should read *الكرام إلا لبيد* - *كرام* (*ekrām*) is a word not known in Arabic, but in Indian Arabic it is used as the plural of *كرم* (*karam*), and, as Baddāoni's letter is distinctly Indian Arabic, it is permissible to adopt this reading.

to be protected from the casualties of ill-hap, and secured from the lightning-like mishaps of night and day.

Terse.

May you last as long as time, O refuge of the people of the time!

This is the prayer of all creatures.

May God answer the prayer of his servant, by the right of him after whom there comes no one."¹

This letter was dated in the course of the years mentioned above. When I paid my respects to the Shaiikh in the year H. 976 (A.D. 1568-69) having been introduced by Shaiikh A'zam of Badāon, who was both son-in-law and cousin to Shaiikh Salim, he asked me "How has the position of the tomb of the prophet^s (may God bless and save him) been determined in the books of 'the sayings' with regard to the tombs of the two Shaiikhs?^s

¹ The text rightly reads لا آتى instead of the لا تاتي of the MSS. "He after whom there comes no one" is Muḥammad, "the last of the prophets" or the "seal of the prophets." Muḥammad said of himself لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي "There is no prophet after me."

² رسالت پناذ *lit.*, "the resort of apostleship." The word used here is a compound adjective formed from this expression, and is impossible of translation. I have translated the word صورت (Ṣurat) "form," by the word "position," for that word best conveys the true meaning of the passage. *Vide* next note.

³ The two Shaiikhs are Abū Bakr and 'Umar, who are buried, in graves adjoining Muḥammad's, within the precincts of the *Maṣjidu'n-Nabawi*, or "the prophet's mosque" at Madinah. The three tombs are, or are supposed to be within the *hujrah* (chamber), so called because it was the room of 'A'yishah, Muḥammad's favourite wife. The *hujrah* is "separated on all sides from the walls of the mosque by a passage about 26 ft. broad on the south side, and 20 on the eastern. The reason of this isolation has been before explained, and there is a saying of Muḥammad's, "O Allah! cause not my tomb to become an object of idolatrous adoration! May Allah's wrath fall heavy upon the people who make the tombs of their prophets places of prayer!" Inside there are, or are supposed to be, three tombs facing the south, surrounded by stone walls without any aperture, or, as others say, by strong planking. Whatever this material may be, it is hung outside with a curtain, somewhat like a large "four-post bed." (*Vide* Burton's "Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah, ed. 1855, II. c. xvi). The question put by Shaiikh Salim to Badāonī was put, no doubt with a view to testing the visitor's

- (may God regard them both with favour!)" I said "In such a way, and others have said 'in such another way.'" He said, "Sahrawardī, in the '*Wāqī'a-yi-Sā'iqā*,'¹ where he verifies the forms of the three tombs, gives preference to the former statement of the case." In accordance with the *Shaiikh's* exalted command I remained for two days with *Shaiikh* A'zam, who has been
15. already mentioned, in a cell in the old hospice, and enjoyed detailed conversations with the *Shaiikh*. Then I obtained leave to depart for Basāwar.² Subsequently, in the year H. 978 (A.D. 1570-71) I repeatedly had the honour of paying my respects to the *Shaiikh*, and one of his extraordinary acts³ which I observed was that in the cold wintry air of the highlands of Fathpūr he never wore anything on the upper part of his body but a shirt of a single thickness of fine cotton cloth,⁴ woven thin, and an upper garment of muslin,⁵ and this in spite of the duty that he imposed upon himself of bathing twice daily. His daily food in the

knowledge of controversial works. There are few more fruitful subjects of controversy among Muslims than the relative positions of the tombs of Muḥammad, Abū Bakr and 'Umar. This is necessarily so, as the question is utterly indeterminable, unless the *hujrah* should be violated, an act of which no Muslim would be capable. The utility of the controversy is not apparent. From what Muḥammad himself is reported to have said (*vide supra*) it was clearly his wish that his tomb should be ignored. Such a wish is little likely to be respected by Indian Muslims, who are only too ready to perform the ceremony of *ḥawāf*, which should be restricted to the *Ka'bah*, at the shrine of any petty saint. *Vide* Burton's strictures on the conduct of Indian pilgrims at Makkah and Madīnah, *passim*.

¹ This work is not mentioned by Hāji *Khalifah*. It was possibly a controversial work on the unedifying subject mentioned in the last note.

² The text has *پشاور* with a footnote variant, *پشاور*. MS. (A) has *پشاور* and MS. (B). *پشاور*, which last is the reading that I have adopted.

³ *خوارق* "miracles." There are, *pace* Badāonī, no "highlands" (کوه) in Fathpur Sikri, and it is not surprising that a man who had travelled for years in colder countries than India, undergoing the hardships which were, in those days, inseparable from travel, (السفر مقر), should have felt the cold, even in the cold weather, at Fathpur Sikri, very much less than stay-at-home Indians did.

⁴ *خاصه* (*Khassah*), fine cotton cloth of a close texture. Its price in the reign of Akbar was from three rupees to fifteen *muhrs* per piece (عدد 'adad). *Vide* *Āin-i-Akbarī* text. I. 108.

⁵ *ملل*. Price Rs. 4 (otherwise, from Rs. 4 to five *muhrs*) per piece (*ibid.*).

quadragesimal fasts of union with God¹ was half a water-melon, or even less than that. He passed away to the next world in the year H. 979 (A.D. 1571-72) and the words "the Indian Shaiikh"² were found to give the date of his death.

IX. SHAIKH NIZĀM-U'D-DĪN OF AMBETHĪ.

Ambethī is the chief village of a pargana in the District of Lakhnau.³ Shaiikh Nizām was the disciple and pupil of Shaiikh Ma'rūf-i-Cishī, the line of whose spiritual descent goes back to Shaiikh Nūr Qutb-i-'Ālam. He followed the ordinary rule of life (of an orthodox Muslim) but was at the same time drawn towards God in a mysterious manner.⁴ Although he was at first one of the students of remunerative branches of knowledge⁵ his exalted disposition yet led him to turn much towards the things of the next world. His eyes were ever fixed on the page and his heart fixed on God, nor was he neglectful of the service of zikr,⁶ and the employment of the soul (in God's service).

¹ Special fasts observed by devotees, vide note on اعتكاف, *supra*. The only fast incumbent on all Muslims is the fast of *Ramāṣān*, lasting for one lunar month.

² شیخ ہندی, giving $300 + 10 + 600 + 5 + 50 + 4 + 10 = 979$.

³ Vide *Ain-i-Akbari* (text) I. 438, where the name is spelt ایتھی (*Abethi*).

⁴ جذبہ—سلوک وجذبہ باعم داشت means an intense longing after God, the result of special attraction exercised by God over the subject of the sensation. Here the rule of life of a *Sūfī* (or rather the absence of any such rule) is instructively contrasted with the rule binding on an orthodox Muslim. The *Sūfī* considers himself above all ceremonial rules, and may observe them or not, as he likes. If he does observe them, it is more for the benefit of the weaker brethren, the followers of the "holy law," than for any advantage that might accrue to himself from such observance. He is "one with God," "converted," "saved," and nothing he does or leaves undone can possibly affect him.

⁵ علوم مکتبہ, the branches of knowledge by means of which one gains a livelihood.

⁶ ذکر, "remembrance" and "recital." A form of religious exercise adopted by *darrishes*. It may be a physical as well as a mental exercise, being the recital of God's praises, attributes, etc., either with the tongue of the flesh, (ذکر جلی) or with the "tongue of the heart" (ذکر خفی); a detailed account of the various forms of the exercise will be found in Hughes' "Dictionary of Islām" (ed. 1885) pp. 703 *et seqq.*

Couplet.

Not for one moment do I turn my attention from that moon,¹
I fear lest it should glance towards me and I should not be
on the watch.

16. In a short time he obtained from his spiritual guide permission to impart religious instruction and to perfect disciples, and in the village of Ambethi drew his foot within the skirt of contentment and withheld his footsteps from the doors of high and low, going nowhere except to the principal *masjid* of the Living God (in that place) and sometimes to Khairābād² to walk round the illustrious tomb of the venerable Shaiikh Sa'd, (may his tomb be sanctified!) and to see Shaiikh-l-Hidyah,³ the successor of Shaiikh Sūfi, (may God sanctify his most pure tomb!), or to Gopāman, in consequence of the friendship which he had for Qāzi Mubārak of Gopāman⁴ who was one of his faithful disciples, a master of perfection, skilled in the holy law, and abstinent, and a very wealthy man. The Shaiikh in the early days of his student life had first been attracted to God in the hospice of the Qāzi's father. At long intervals he would take the trouble to go to Fathpur, by way of making a tour, to see Shaiikh 'Abdu'-l-Ghani,⁵ who also was one of the greatest among famous elders, and was held in the highest respect. Whenever he visited the hospice of Shaiikh-l-Hidyah and the other places he would give of his worldly goods a rupee, a *tanka*, or some other offering, in accordance with the saying "Send presents to each other and you will love each other,"⁶ and

1 The word "moon" is generally used in Persian poetry as a synonym for "the beloved one," the object of the lover's devotion. Here, in *Ṣūfī-istic* style, it is used for God, as the Beloved of the mystic.

2 The chief town of a *sarkār* of the same name in the *Ṣūba* of Awadh (Oudh). It is near the present military cantonment at Sitāpūr. *Vide Āin-i-Akbari* text, I. 437. Also Hunter's *Gazetteer*, VIII. 128. It will be observed that Shaiikh Niẓāmu'-d-dīn used to circumambulate Shaiikh Sa'd's tomb, a ceremony which should be confined to the Ka'bah at Makkah. This circumambulation of the tombs of saints has probably been borrowed, like some other customs, by Indian Muslims from the Hindus.

3 *Vide infra*, No. XIV.

4 *Vide infra*, Chapter II, No. XLVII.

5 *Vide* Chapter II, No. XXXII.

6 The text has *میداد* for *نمیداد*, in spite of the clear reading of both MSS. But the reading of the text seems, nevertheless, to be correct.

then would fall into an ecstasy of delight. I have heard that he once snatched the book "*Fuṣūṣu-'l-Hikam*"¹ from the hand of Shaiikh Abū-'l-Faṭḥ, the son of Shaiikh Abū-'l-Hidyaḥ, who is now his great father's representative and sits on his prayer-carpet of Shaiikh-dom, and, taking it from him, gave him another book, saying, "Read this." He made the books "*Iḥyā'u-'l-'Ulūm*,"² "*Awārif*," "*Risāla-yi-Makkiyya*,"³ "*Ādābu-'l-Murīdīn*,"⁴ [and other books of the same sort, the pivot on which his doctrine and practice turned, both in his religious duties and in the daily business of life. He always first recited the midday prayers with the congregation on Friday and afterwards recited the regular Friday prayers. In the *khutbah*⁵ he altogether omitted the praises of kings. I saw him reciting the Friday prayers with his shoes on his feet, and he said "His holiness, the resort of apostleship, (may God bless and save him!) recited his prayers with his shoes on." On one occasion one of his pupils desired to learn a lesson from the book known as *Kāfiyah*,⁶ asking for the Shaiikh's blessing on

¹ *فصوص الحکم*, "Articulations of the Sciences." Vide note on this work, *supra*.

² The "*Iḥyā'u-'ulūmi-'d-dīn*" by the Shāfi'i Imām, Ḥujjatu-'l-Islām Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad Ghazālī, who died at Tūs, A.H. 505 (A.D. 1111-12). Of this book it has been said "If all books on Islām were lost, and the *Iḥyā* only remained, the loss of the others would not be felt." It is divided into four parts: (1) on ritual, and matters of faith, (2) on manners and morals, (3) on the lusts of the world, the flesh, and the Devil, and (4) on the virtues of a religious life. (*Ḥāji Khaliḥ* I. 180-182).

³ *Ar-risālatu-'l-Makkiyyah*, by Shaiikh Imām Quṭb-u-'d-dīn 'Abdu-'llāh Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Aimanī-'l-Aṣṣahīdī. *Ḥāji Khaliḥ* III. 445.

⁴ *Ādābu-'l-Murīdīn*, by Shaiikh Abū-'n-Najīb 'Abdu-'l-Qābir Ibn 'Abdī-'l-lāhi-'s-Sahrawardī, (d. A. H. 568 = A.D. 1167-68). *Ḥāji Khaliḥ* I. 214.

⁵ The oration or sermon delivered in the *masjid* every Friday.

⁶ *كافية في النحو*. (*Kāfiyat-fi-'n-Nahwi*) a work on Arabic Grammar, by Shaiikh Jamāl-u-'d-dīn, commonly known as Ibn-u-'l-Ḥājib, (d. A.H. 646 = A.D. 1248). An edition of it was published by Capt. John Baillie, (Calcutta, 1805). Shaiikh Nizāmu-'d-dīn objected to the use of it by his pupil on the score of its having no *عنوان* ('*unwān*'), here called *خطبة* (*Khutbah*), setting forth the praises of God. The pupil's argument was that he must learn Arabic grammar before he could read Arabic works on divinity, and that Grammar was therefore, in a sense, the foundation of a sound knowledge of divinity. The *Kāfiyah* commences, without the usual '*unwān*' or preface, thus:—

الكلمة لفظ وضع لمعني مفرد

Ibn-u-'l-Ḥājib has been defended against the charge of impiety on the plea of

17. his lesson. The Shaiikh pretended not to hear him. After much insistence and persistence on the part of the pupil the Shaiikh said "Read some divinity." He said, "This work too is on divinity, inasmuch as divinity depends upon it." The Shaiikh, in the warmth of his love for God, said, "How can divinity depend upon a book on which the first argument that has been advanced is that the author has omitted the praises of God, (may He be honoured and glorified!) from the introduction on account of his humility?" He rarely accepted a disciple, and (when he had one) he did not appoint his tasks for him or give him instruction.¹ Among his chosen disciples was Shaiikh Ḥātim of Gopāman whom he had removed from the class of students who read in the hospice of Qāzi Mubārak and kept with himself. To please the boy he would sometimes read lessons to him, and would sometimes give him a book, and set tasks for him, until he completely won his heart, and sometimes he would give him a turban, or shoes, or clothes. The Qāzi and the other students, when they saw these favours (bestowed upon Shaiikh Ḥātim) were envious² of him. The holy Shaiikh Nizāmū'd-dīn, perceiving signs of this jealousy, said, "What can be done? God the Most High has willed to bestow upon Ḥātim a portion of prosperity by means of these unsatisfactory gifts, a few clothes and old shoes." Shaiikh Nizām obtained such complete power and utter influence over Ḥātim that in a short time he (Ḥātim) attained a great reputation, and Shaiikh Nizāmū'd-dīn in expounding Divine truths and the mystic knowledge of God used to restrict the title of Shaiikh to him alone. In the meanwhile³ Shaiikh Ḥātim experienced many ups and downs, and he was troubled with asthma, and various sicknesses, and just as he had acquired the right to be Shaiikh Nizāmū'd-dīn's

his humility. which led him to believe that his book was not worthy of an 'unwān. Nizāmū'd-dīn was evidently too much of a precisian to admit this plea.

¹ Vide *infra*, p. 30, where the Shaiikh gives his reason for neglecting this duty.

² The word used here is غبطة (*ghibṭa*). Its usual meaning is "ungrudging emulation." Badāonī, however, habitually uses it in the sense of "envy." Vide vol. I (Dr. Ranking's translation), p. 395 and p. 543, n. 4.

³ در این میان. The word میان is inserted in the text, though it appears in neither MS. It appears, however, necessary to the sense, and the textual reading is therefore probably the correct one.

deputy and successor he chose the path to the next world. The *Shaykh* would often say, "There was a servant of God to whom I used sometimes to teach the word of God, and he used to understand it. Now that he is gone to whom shall I speak of it?"

When I, the compiler of these historical selections, paid my respects to the *Shaykh*, *Shaykh 'Abdū'r-Razzāq*, who was both brother-in-law and father-in-law¹ to him, was generally in conversation with him, and sometimes, but rarely, the *Shaykh* would go to see (or would go out walking with) *Shaykh Muḥammad* also, his true deputy (or successor),² who now adorns the prayer-carpet of the *Shaykh* with his presence, sitting as his successor. Since the late *Muḥammad Husain Khān*,³ some account of whom has already been recorded by my chronicling pen, and who was a man to whom I was bound by the bond of regard more closely than can be expressed in writing, entertained a desire to become a disciple of the holy *Shaykh*, he was privileged to pay his respects to him by the cooperation of Sayyid Aghar of Badāon and Qāṣi Ahmad, the brother of Qāṣi Muḥarak of Gopāman;⁴ and this hap-

¹ هم خير بوز و هم خير *Both wife's brother and wife's father. Shaykh Niḥmūd-dān must therefore have married an aunt and a niece. This is allowable by Mahomedan law, provided that the two are not at the same time wives of one husband. The *Shaykh* probably married the aunt first, and, after her death, the niece.*

² The text has here *خلف مدق* giving *خليفة* which is the reading of MSS. (A) and (B) as a fortiori variant. The reading in the text has probably been adopted because *خلف مدق* is a much commoner phrase than *خليفة مدق*. The error is not affected. *مدق* is a substantive but must be translated as though it were an adjective.

³ The name 'Muḥammad' is prefixed to Husain in both MSS. The *Amir* referred to is generally known as Husain Khān simply, and is thus called in the subsequent passages of the narrative. He was Badāoni's first patron, vide note 4, on p. 6. He held Lakhan in *ijir* for about a year only, during which time Badāoni was in his service. Kānt u Gola was subsequently given to him in *ijir*. For the account of Husain Khān, here mentioned, vide Badāoni, vol. II, passim.

⁴ I can find no notice either of Sayyid Aghar or of Qāṣi Ahmad, though an account of the latter's brother, Qāṣi Muḥarak, is given subsequently in this volume (c. II, No. XLVII). In the text the words *احمد برادر قاسي* are very carelessly omitted, so as to make it appear that Qāṣi Muḥarak himself, and not his brother, introduced Husain Khān to the *Shaykh*. These words are nevertheless clearly written in each MS.

poned at the time when Lakhnau was settled on Husain Khān in *jāgīr*, in A.H. 976 (A.D. 1568-69). I observed¹ that the *Shaiikh* at the beginning of the interview addressed to everybody a few words appropriate to his condition, contenting himself with saying "Praise be to God" with the utterance of prayers, or restricting himself to such remarks as, "Glory be to God," "there is no god but God," "We seek protection of God,"² "In the name of God," "there is no power or strength but with God," or to the recitation of a verse from the glorious word (of God), or from the *hadith*,³ or from the sayings of noted saints. And every moment he glanced to his left, so that it seemed as though he were seeking from the master of the assembly⁴ permission and leave to say something. On receiving leave from one of the company,⁵ at the time when we were shaking hands with one another, he gave the Sayyid, mentioned above,⁶ his blessing, saying to Qāzī Ahmad "Glory be to God," and to me, "In the name of God," using similar (pious) expressions to everybody present. At this very moment, before he could commence a conversation, a miserable worthless wretch of a student came up and recognized⁷ the *Shaiikh*, who, saying to him "I seek protection of God from the Devil, the execrable one,"⁸ admitted him to the interview. He then began to expound⁹ the verse of the *Qur'ān*, "Everything shall perish, except His face,"¹⁰

1 The author's mention of himself in the third person, as is usual, is often apt to be confusing. It might appear from the structure of this long passage that it was Husain Khān that 'observed,' but the subsequent context shows that Badāoni is referring to himself in the words چنان دید. The whole of this passage is very involved, and I have been obliged to break it up into periods and transpose portions of it, in order to render its meaning into passable English.

2 The text has, wrongly, نعوذ for تعوذ.

3 حدیث, the recorded sayings of Muḥammad, which form the ground-work of Muḥammadan tradition and are venerated equally with the *Qur'ān*.

4 حضرت جامعه (*haẓrat-i-jāmi'ah*) lit. "the presence which had collected us together." Presumably Husain Khān is meant.

5 از جانبی (*az jānibī*) lit. 'from a certain direction.'

6 Scil. Sayyid Aṣḡhar of Badāon.

7 دریافت (*dar-yāft*), perhaps "singled out," or "button-holed."

8 الشیطان الرجیم (*Ash-shaitāni-'r-rajīm*) lit. "the Devil, the stoned one."

9 The text has a misprint here, تفسیر for تفسیر.

10 *Qur'ān* XXVIII, 88. The *Kushshaf* explains that "face" means the

addressing his discourse to Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Razzāq who contented himself with saying "It is indeed so," and "Yes," (at intervals), occasionally pointing out some allusion. Nobody else had power to utter a word, awe and reverence preventing them. As for me, I was as though I was not,¹ and, reviewing my sins, sat in fear lest they should have been revealed to the *Shaykh*, and lest my inmost being should be laid bare to the light of day,² secretly watching all the while for an opportunity to escape from the assembly. At that moment that student asked, "Why should not the (possessive) pronoun affixed to the word *rajūl* (face) be referred to some thing, as masters of the secret knowledge of God have said?" The *Shaykh*, the moment he heard this speech, became much agitated, and the colour of his blessed countenance³ turned to red and yellow, and he said, "Did I not, when I first set eyes on this devil, repeat the formula "We seek protection, etc.," and now, in the manner which we have just heard, his devilry has become apparent?" And when he discovered what the student's design was he repeated several times the formula, "There is no power or strength but with God," and quoted the following couplet from the *Qasida-yi-Burda*⁴ :—

"O thou who blamest me for my pure affection, excused

"Thou art by me therefor, but had'st thou done justice thou
would'st not have blamed me."⁵

¹ In the text the article has been carelessly omitted before the word *هو*

Intense love for God overpowered the Shaiikh and he ordered the student to be turned out of the assembly, but afterwards, calling him back again, he appeased him, and the contemplation of this matter was a great warning to us who were present. That night passed very uncomfortably for me in the hospice, and I watched for the morning in order that I might escape. The early morning prayers¹ were recited with the Shaiikh at the moment the true dawn began to appear, when we could not see one another's faces without a lamp, I indeed thinking that it was yet night. At sunrise the Shaiikh came out of his cell and stood at the door of the masjid, ordering Miyān Shaiikh Muḥammad² to bring for us three whatever food might be ready, and I was in great agitation of mind, ever and again endeavouring to get Miyān Shaiikh Muḥammad to obtain leave from his master for me to depart. The holy Shaiikh, with his Qur'ān in one hand and salt in the other

20. was appositely expounding the blessed verse, "Make ready then against them what force ye can, and squadrons of horse,"³ and so on to the end of the verse, ignoring my application for leave to depart. *Apropos* of what he was saying he then mentioned, in a most affectionate manner, Ḥusain Khān, who was at that time in the *pargana* of Isauli,⁴ and said, "He is my son."⁵ Then, follow-

in the first hemistich of this couplet, though it appears in both MSS. and is the correct reading.

¹ نماز صبح commonly called in Persian نماز باعداد and in Arabic صلاة الفجر. The first of the five obligatory periods of prayer. These prayers should be recited between dawn and sunrise.

² This seems to have been Badāonī's younger brother.

³ Qur'ān VIII, 62.

وَأَعِدُّوا لَهُمْ مَا اسْتَطَعْتُمْ مِنْ قُوَّةٍ وَمِنْ رِبَاطِ الْخَيْلِ تُرْهِبُونَ بِهِ عَدُوَّ اللَّهِ
وَعَدُوَّكُمْ وَأَخْرِيْنَ مِنْ دُونِهِمْ لَا تَعْلَمُونَهُمُ اللَّهُ يَعْلَمُهُمْ وَمَا تُنْفِقُوا مِنْ شَيْءٍ
فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ يُوَفِّ إِلَيْكُمْ وَأَنْتُمْ لَا تُظْلَمُونَ .

The Arabic is very badly pointed in the text.

⁴ A *pargana* town in the *sarkār* of Lakhnau, Sūba Awadh (Oudh). Most likely one of Ḥusain Khān's *jāgīr* villages, whither he had returned after the interview mentioned above.

⁵ The text has here توته, which means "parrot." Both MSS. read بونه,

ing the dictates of his generous nature, which led him to bestow on every one, rich or poor, a piece of gold, or salt, or some other gift, he gave to me a *tanka*.

Of the miracles which I saw him perform, when I made that journey to visit him, this was one. As we three¹ were on the road to Ambethi, journeying to pay our respects to the *Shaiikh* (the road-police) had arrested a man dressed as beggar on a charge of theft and highway robbery, and had seized him by his clothes.² He in some way managed to effect his escape, and in that very hour came begging to the holy *Shaiikh*; but notwithstanding all his persistence and lamentation the *Shaiikh* gave him nothing. We who were present were much astonished, as we had often witnessed instances of the *Shaiikh's* generosity. The *Shaiikh* at once opposed and objected to³ (our expressions of surprise) saying, "Look at the⁴ thief, who both robs on the highway and poses as a beggar," and he drove him out of our assembly. This caused great astonishment, and when we looked closely at the man we recognized him as the same person whom the road-police had laid hands on.

On the same day another occurrence, similar to this, took place, but an account of it would occupy much space.

On the last day of *Ramaẓān*, in the year already mentioned, we were travelling rapidly at night⁵ with Ḥusain Khān, from his

which means "the young of man or of any animal," and is a far more appropriate term than *نورته*. I have, of course, followed the MSS.

¹ That is, Qāzī Aḥmad of Gopāman, Sayyid Aṣghar, and Badāonī himself, or perhaps Ḥusain Khān is included, in which case one of the other two must be left out.

² *جاءه های او را کشیده بودند*. This seems to mean rather, "had pulled off his clothes," the thief leaving his clothes in the hands of the police and so escaping, but as Badāonī says immediately afterwards that the thief escaped *بنوعی* (in some way or other) I have translated the phrase by "seized him by his clothes," in order to preserve the ambiguity regarding the thief's means of escape.

³ *اعراضی و اعتراضی*. The words *و اعتراضی* are carelessly omitted from the text, though they occur in both MSS.

⁴ The text has the word *این* ("this") here, though it occurs in neither MS. I have omitted it in the translation.

⁵ The year was H. 976 (A.D. 1568). It must be borne in mind that the Muslims, like the Jews, reckon their day from sunset. Thus "the last day of *Ramaẓān*, at night," would be, according to our reckoning "the night of the

pargana to Ambethi, and all our efforts were centred on reaching that place in time to recite the early morning prayers¹ in company with the *Shaiikh*. The dawn had already appeared when, at three *kurūh*² distance from Ambethi, we put spurs to our horses, and regretted that we were not in time for the public prayers.³ We reached the *Shaiikh's masjid* in Ambethi as the sun was about to rise. At that moment the holy *Shaiikh*, having come out of his house, was just commencing his prayers with the "*Allāhu Akbar*,"⁴ and he broke off, and we thought that we were just too late, but we nevertheless attained the great honour (which we sought). Now this act of the *Shaiikh* was contrary to his usual custom, for he always recited the early morning prayers at a time when we thought that the true dawn had hardly appeared.

It chanced that towards the close of the same day the *Shaiikh* was explaining the mysticism of the *Sūfis*⁵ in the *masjid*, and he read some⁶ verses from the *Divān* of *Khāja Hāfiz*.⁷ One of the

last day but one of *Ramāzān*" or, in this case, as they travelled through the night "the early morning of the last day of *Ramāzān*." The necessity for this explanation will be apparent hereafter, where it is stated that *Husain Khān* returned to *Lakhnau* to keep the 'īd there.

1 نماز باصداد *vide suprà* p. 34, n. 1.

2 The *kos* of *Hindustān*. *Vide* *Āin-i-Akbarī*, Vol. II. (trans. Jarrett), p. 414 and n. 2.

3 جماعت. These prayers were hardly, in this instance, public. They were rather "common to two or more." Their merit lay in the "gathering of two or three together," as S. Chrysostom, quoting the Holy Scriptures, says.

4 تكبير نماز. This is the repetition, at the commencement of the ritual prayers, of the *mu'azzin's* call to prayer, which commences with the تكبير (الله اكبر "God is great") repeated three times.

5 بيان تصوف. Reference has already been made to the doctrines of the *Sūfis*.

6 The word چند ("some,") which appears in the text, is in neither MS. I have, nevertheless, retained it, for the context clearly shews that the *Shaiikh* read more than one *complet*.

7 The prince of Persian poets, the "interpreter of secrets," and "the tongue of that which is hidden." He is too well-known to stand in need of any description here. He is known even in England, where, as a rule, no one is known who has not been, as "sweet bully Bottom" was, translated. *Hāfiz* has not been translated into English, but the English equivalents of the Persian words used by him have been given by Colonel Wilberforce Clarke, R. E.

companions of the late Ḥusain Khān asked whose disciple Khājā Ḥāfiẓ was, and the Shaiikh said, "He was the disciple of Khājā Naqshband,"¹ (may God sanctify his soul!) Another, *apropos* of the same subject, asked "How was horse-flesh regarded in the religion of the greatest of the *Imāms*?"² (i.e., was it lawful food or not?) The Shaiikh replied that the greatest of the *Imāms* himself ate horse-flesh, and when he reached this couplet:—

"The *Sūfis* celebrate in one moment two 'ids (great feasts)

"Spiders make pemmican of a fly."³

then I too, trusting in my own singleness of heart, thoughtlessly asked, "What is meant by the 'two 'ids'?" This question annoyed the Shaiikh and he angrily said, "Let Bāyazid⁴ and Junaid,⁵ or Shibli⁶ and Maṣṣūr⁷ ask such a question as this. What have you to do with such a question?" And falling into this vein he spoke

¹ Khājā Bahā'u-d-Dīn Naqshband. *Fiḍe Ain-i-Akbarī*, text, II, 212. Rīzā Qulī, according to Col. Wilberforce Clarke, states, that the *pīr* who instructed Ḥāfiẓ was Maulānā Shamsu'd-Dīn-i-Shīrāzī.

² Abū Ḥanīfah, the founder of one of the four orthodox sects or theological schools of Islām.

³ I cannot find this couplet in any edition of Ḥāfiẓ to which I have access. I know of no one English word which will translate the word قديد, so I have used "pemmican" as the word which most conveniently translates it.

⁴ The person meant is Bāyazid-i-Anṣārī, the apostle of the Afghāns, who is styled *Pīr-i-Raushan*, and founded the *Ṣūfī* sect called *Raushaniyyah*, or "the enlightened." He established amid the mountains of Afghānistān a temporal power upon the authority of his spiritual character, and his successors disturbed the tranquillity of the Dihlī empire during the reign of Akbar. *Fiḍe Beale's "Oriental Biographical Dictionary."*

⁵ Shaiikh Junaid-i-Baghdādī, a famous ascetic, born at Baghdād, where he died in A.H. 298 (A.D. 911). (Beale O.B.D.)

⁶ Shaiikh Abū Bakr-i-'sh-Shibli a celebrated doctor of divinity, born and brought up at Baghdād, where he died A.H. 334 (A.D. 946). Shaiikh Junaid, mentioned in the last note, was one of his spiritual masters. (Beale O.B.D.)

⁷ Maṣṣūr-i-Hallāj, the surname of Shaiikh Ḥusain-i-Hallāj, a celebrated *Ṣūfī* and ascetic. Musalmāns differed in their opinion of his character. By some he was believed to be a saint and a worker of miracles, by others a juggler and impostor, deceiving the people with his tricks. He was in the habit of proclaiming "*Ana'l-Ḥaqq*," "I am the Truth," or "I am God"—the logical conclusion of his *Ṣūfī* doctrines. For this blasphemy he was put to death with great torture by the *Khalīfah* Muqtadir in A.H. 306 (A.D. 919) or, according to Ibn-u-*Khalīkān* in A.H. 309 (A.D. 922.) He is considered by the *Ṣūfis* to be one of their most spiritual leaders, and to have attained

much on the subject, and I, hanging my head with shame, repented my indiscretion. Husain Khān, biting his finger with consternation, looked ever and anon towards me, and his friends were all bewildered. Suddenly my lot was lightened by the rising of the (joyful) clamour which is heard on the appearance of the new moon of the 'id,¹ and all rose and busied themselves in mutual congratulations and hand-shakings. I rose, and on the plea of being fatigued went to recite my evening prayers in a tent which was pitched in a garden beside the *masjid*, feeling sick of life. When the holy Shaiikh, going indoors, set food before his guests, he asked "Where is such an one?"² (i.e., Badāoni), Shaiikh Muḥammad, his worthy successor,³ answered, "By reason of the impertinence of which he was guilty he could not appear in the *masjid*, and he absented himself also from the public prayers. The Shaiikh then sent me some food from his own table, with his blessing, and I was somewhat consoled, and entertained hopes of forgiveness. Early the next morning Husain Khān went to Lakhnan, to join in celebrating the 'id there, and I alone remained in Ambethi. The holy Shaiikh recited the prayers of the festival in his *masjid* and afterwards occupied himself in giving instruction in the book known as the '*Awārif*.'⁴ Meanwhile Shaiikh Muḥammad rose up to intercede for me, and asked that my fault might be forgiven. The Shaiikh sent for me, and breaking off his teaching turned to me with great kindness, and when I, my eyes full of tears, placed my head on his foot, he embraced me and said "I bear no enmity or malice in my heart against anybody. Whatever I say is in the way of advice and spiritual

22.

the fourth, or last stage of *Sūfī*-ism. An inspired *Sūfī* is said to have demanded of the Almighty why he permitted Maṅṣūr to suffer. The reply was, "This is the punishment for the revealer of secrets," i.e., his offence was not blasphemy, but indiscretion in uttering a great truth to ears unfit to hear it. (Beale O.B.D.). It seems that the Shaiikh was vexed with Badāoni for inquiring into matters which were beyond him (Badāoni) but it may be that the Shaiikh was not ready with an answer and took advantage of Badāoni's known servility to "saints" to escape, by this means, the necessity of owning himself to be at a loss.

¹ I.e., the new moon had been sighted and the 'idu-'l *fiṭr* had begun.

² نال. The use of this word is due to modesty, as the author by its use avoids introducing his own name.

³ خلف صدق.

⁴ Vide *supra*, p. 17, n. 2.

instruction to the slaves of God, and abuse from me, as was the case with abuse from the prophet of God, (may God bless and save him), has on its object the same effect as praise (from another), and even if I utter a curse on anybody it has the same effect as a blessing.¹ Then, in affection, taking his cap from his blessed head, he gave it to me, and took me apart into the cell which was in the gate-house, and said "Perform your ceremonial ablutions in my presence, and recite your prayers." I recited them wonderingly. He said to me, "Men say of me that I do not instruct students. What instruction can I give? My instruction and religious teaching are just this much, a tongue never weary of praising God and a thankful heart." Then he became agitated like a stormy surging sea and said "My life is instruction sufficient for seekers after God, and walkers in His way."² Just then two *durrighes* from Sindh, breaking the *Shaiikh's* custom, began to sing outside an Indian melody in mournful and grating tones, and my spiritual condition underwent a change³ by means of the influence brought to bear on me at that time. *Apropos* of this (influence) the *Shaiikh* said that the great companions (of Muhammad),⁴ (may God be gratified with them!), when they saw that the desert 'Arabs newly converted to Islam were much affected by hearing the glorious *Qur'ān* read, regretted their own state, and the leader of the faithful, Abū-Bakr, the faithful witness of the truth, (may God be gratified with him!), said, "We were like you, but afterwards our hearts became hard: that is to say, they became firmly fixed and immovable, so that they were like stones for lack of ability to be

23.

¹ The *Shaiikh* was evidently ashamed of himself, but, rather than confess himself in the wrong, adroitly managed to persuade Badi'oni, by a line of reasoning that would be deemed irreverent by any Muslim who was not a slavish admirer, that he had received a blessing rather than an insult.

² *Ide suprà*, p. 30, n. 1. The text inserts between the words *تلقين* and *طليبان* the conjunction *و*, which is in neither MS. and destroys the sense.

³ *حال بر من از آن وقت متغير شد*. This sentence is somewhat obscure, as *حال* may be taken to mean either "condition," simply, or "ecstasy." Nor is it clear whether Badi'oni means that the mournful and harsh "music" combined with the *Shaiikh's* discourse made him a changed man, or that the "music" broke the spell under which the *Shaiikh's* discourse had laid him.

⁴ Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'U'mān, and 'Alī.

softened.”¹ Then the *Shaiikh* read some sentences which were quite unfamiliar to my ear, and gave me permission to use the following prayer constantly:—“O God, I seek protection of Thee against deafness, dumbness, madness, leprosy, and leucoderma.”² When I took my leave and came to Lakhnau I made a stay of some days there, and the *Shaiikh* would sometimes send me a piece of salt, which he used generally to hold in his hand and lick when in an assembly, reciting this saying of Muḥammad, “Salt is a cure for seventy diseases, except death.”³ And he would sometimes also send me some uncooked⁴ rice, and sometimes an earthenware jar, and other presents, and he received my younger brother, the late *Shaiikh* Muḥammad, into the company of his disciples and pupils, and in a short time, being blessed⁵ with the holy *Shaiikh*’s regard he acquired angelic qualities and a love for the practice of ascetism. He generally observed the continued fast,⁶ and spent his time in reading the glorious *Qur’ān*, in reciting God’s praises, in exorcism, and in

¹ I have not been able to find another quotation of this saying. The text and both MSS. have the word *تلوين*, which means (in this context) “ability to receive colour.” The sense is not apparent, as a stone can receive colour as well as can any other object. But if we read *تليين*, with a difference of one letter only, the meaning will be that which I have given in my translation, which is in every way more appropriate.

² *جذام* and *برص*. The first is the true leprosy, in which the fingers and other extremities gradually rot away, and the face assumes the “leonine” appearance. The second is *leucoderma*, or white leprosy, which itself affects only the colouring matter of the skin, but is commonly said (*Muḥifu-l-Muḥif* sub voce *برص*) to end in true leprosy. It is this disease with which Gohazi was smitten—“*Et egressus est ab eo leprosus quasi niz.*”

ויצא מלפניו מצרע כשל 2 Kings v. 27.

³ There are many “sayings” of Muḥammad on the virtues of salt. Some specify salt as a cure for some of the diseases for protection from which Badāoni had just been directed to pray.

⁴ *خام* in both MSS. The text has *خاى*, with *خام* as a footnote variant. I have, of course, adopted the reading of the MSS.

⁵ *يمن* the reading of both MSS. The text has *همين*, which destroys the sense.

⁶ *روزة*. This consists in fasting during the six days following the *‘idu-l-fitr*, i.e., from the 2nd to the 7th of *Shawwāl*, inclusive. Abū Ayūb relates that Muḥammad said “The person who fasts the month of *Ramāzīn* and follows it up with six days of the month of *Shawwāl*, will obtain the rewards of a continued fast” (Ilughes, Dict. of Islām, sub voce “Fasting.”)

works of supererogation, so that not one hour of his precious life was wasted, or was passed in idleness, as mine has been.

"In respect of rose-water and the rose the decree of fate from time without beginning has been this,

"That the former is a courtesan of the market-place, and the latter a chaste and curtained dame."

And at that time he left the world, and it is certain that, preserving his faith intact, he retired to the garden of Rīẓwān.¹ The venerable age of the holy Shaiḫh extended to more than eighty years, and even at that great age he begat children, and his departure from this abode of decay took place in the year H. 979 (A.D. 1571-72). 24.

X. SHAIKH BHĪKAN OF KĀKŌRĪ.²

Kākōrī³ is a *pargana* town in the *Sarkār* of Lakhnau. The Shaiḫh was the most learned of the learned men of his time, abstemious and well versed in the holy law, while in devout piety even the greatest of the *Imāms*⁴ (Abū Ḥanīfah) was his inferior. For many years he was engaged in teaching and in instructing the people. He had committed the whole of the glorious word (of God) to memory, according to each of the seven methods of reading it. He used also to give instruction in Shāṭibī.⁵ He reckoned his spiritual succession from Mir Sayyid Ibrāhīm of Irīj,⁶ (may God sanctify his soul!) who was

¹ Rīẓwān is the keeper of the garden of Paradise.

² The text omits the Shaiḫh's territorial designation in the head-line, following MS. (B). I follow MS. (A) and insert it.

³ Kākōrī, given in the text, for some reason or for no reason as ککری (Kākārī). Both MSS. have Kākōrī. *Vide* also *Āin-i-Akbarī* (text) I.

⁴ This is the reading of the text, and is undoubtedly the correct reading. The word *imām* is somewhat indistinct in both MSS. Perhaps the copyists considered Badāonī's comparison irreverent, and compounded with their consciences by writing the word لم as indistinctly as possible.

⁵ This reference is to a poem named *Ḥir-u-'l-amānī wa rajhu-'t-tahānī*, the subject of which is the seven methods of reading the *Qur'ān*. The author was Abū-'l-Muhammadi-'l-Qāsīmī-'sh-Shāṭibī, from whom the poem is known as *Ash-shāṭibīyyah*. The author died in H. 590 (A.D. 1194). Shāṭib is said by Ibn Khallikān to be a town in Eastern Spain. I cannot identify it. *Vide* Ḥājī Khalḫā III. 43, and Ibn Khallikān; s. v. Ash-shāṭibī.

⁶ Irīj was the chief town of a *sarkār* of the same name in the *Ṣūba* of Agra. *Vide* *Āin-i-Akbarī*, text, Vol. I., p. 448.

himself the most learned of the learned men of his time. The Shaiikh would never mention the Sūfī mysteries in a public assembly, but only in private, to those who had been initiated in their secrets and one of his sayings was "If the mystical profession of the Unity of God¹ be made in public it turns again solely to him who uttered it, or to the learned men (present)."

He would not listen to singing, and outwardly reprobated it. He left numerous children who attained perfection, all of whom were adorned with the embellishment of rectitude, piety, wisdom, knowledge, and excellence.

The compiler of these historical selections was honoured, in company with the late Muhammad Husain Khān,² by being permitted to pay his respects to the Shaiikh in Lakhnau. It was the blessed month of Ramazān, and a certain one brought to the Shaiikh a work on logic, asking him to set him a task in that book. The Shaiikh said "You should read some book on divinity."

The Shaiikh's death occurred in the year H. 981 (A.D. 1573-4).

XI. SHAIKH SA'DI.

25. He also was one of the more esteemed among holy men. His line of spiritual descent came through his own revered father, Shaiikh Muhammad (may God render his soul fragrant). Shaiikh Muhammad wrote a commentary in Persian on Shāfi'ī,³ which covered nearly seventy quires of paper. His true successor, Shaiikh Sa'di, was subject to fits of overpowering religious ecstasy, and was pure both in body and soul. He was ever cheerful and light of heart, and lived happy and free from care. To one of his friends he wrote in a letter, when saying farewell to him:—

"Thy Sa'di's eyes and heart are with thee on thy way,

"So deem not that thou goest alone, they bide with thee
always."

His death occurred in the year H. 1002 (A.D. 1593-4).

١ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ. This means really the confession of the unity of everything with God and of God with everything, the expression of belief in the pantheism of the Sūfīs. The meaning of this somewhat enigmatical "saying" is that such a statement made in public cannot possibly edify the uninitiated, and is confined in its results to the speaker and the initiated present. The text wrongly following MS. (B) has إهل عالم "men of the world," for إهل علم (MS. A) "men of knowledge."

² Badāonī's first patron, *vide supra*, p. 6, n. 4.

³ *Vide supra* in the life of Shaiikh Bhikan, the last mentioned holy man.

XII. SAYYID TĀJU-'D-DĪN, OF LAKHNAU.¹

He was one of the successors of Shaiikh Muḥammad Ghāus,² and was a master of the art of exorcism. He had a great reputation for asceticism, holy poverty, and resignation, and was generous and open-handed. He came to Lakhnau, where very many were honoured by converse with him, and received from him permission to give instruction in religious matters. There he died.

XIII. SHAIKH MUḤAMMAD QALANDAR OF LAKHNAU.³

In his youth he served in the army, in the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodi,⁴ but⁵ when the Emperor Bābar conquered India he gave up that profession for a life of holy poverty, sacrificing all his ambition thereto.⁶ He became a disciple of Shaiikh Buhlūl, devoting himself to the service of God and to asceticism. From his spiritual instructor he learnt the proper use of some of the names of God in exorcism, and lived the life of a recluse in a garden, most of the trees of which had been planted by himself, shutting in his own face the door of entry into and exit from the houses of other men. They used to say that for more than thirty years his food had been nothing but milk alone, and that he never used pulse or any sort of food other than (milk). One day when Muḥammad Husain Khān, accompanied by me, went to visit him, a cat came up to the Shaiikh mewing piteously. The Shaiikh said "This cat has cause of complaint, for you have wasted both her time and the time of the master of the house, causing it to be passed in frivolity, and distracting my heart." 26.

¹ In MS. (A) the life which here follows is headed with the name of Shaiikh Muḥammad Qalandar of Lakhnau, biography No. XIII being given as the life of this saint. I follow the text and MS. (B) in the arrangement of the names, but follow the two MSS. in the designation of Sayyid Tāju-'d-din—"of Lakhnau"—which is omitted in the text.

² No. III.

³ Vide note on the heading of biography No. XII.

⁴ The third and last sovereign of the Lodī dynasty, grandson of Buhlūl Lodi, the first of the line. Sultān Ibrāhīm was conquered and slain by Bābar on the field of Panipat in A.D. 1525.

⁵ MS. (A) has و here—correctly as it seems to me. The text and MS. (B) omit it.

⁶ A cumbersome translation of نامرادى, but one which explains its meaning fully.

XIV. SHAIKH NIZĀMU-'D-DIN ¹ OF NĀRNOL.

Nārnol ² is one of the famous cities of India. Although the Shaiikh was the disciple of Shaiikh Khānūn of the Oishī ³ order, who was settled in the fort of Gwāliyār, he always declared that he acquired most of his excellence, and education, as well as the spiritual succession, from his own elder brother, Shaiikh Isma'il by name. He was a Sūfi who had attained the first stage of recognition of God, ⁴ had overcome his desires, and had acquired complete hope in God's mercy. He was thoroughly acquainted with the (spiritual) condition of those who had retired from the world and had chosen the religious life, and possessed great influence over them. I have heard that he used to order the darvīshes of his hospice, during eclipses of the moon, to take oil of the Celastrus, ⁵ (a medicine well-known in India, on which treatises, describing its virtues, have been written, and of the properties of which the author has had some small experience), and that under its influence the truth about the next world ⁶ was revealed to them, and that he used to recount to them ⁷ other wonderful matters—but God knows the truth. -

He remained seated on the throne of religious guidance for nearly forty years, and from early youth to the end of his life

¹ The text and MS. (B) have "Shaiikh Nizām" only, but MS. (A), which I follow, gives the Shaiikh's full name.

² The chief town of a sarkār in the Śūba of Āgra (vide Āin-i-Akbari, Vol. II. trans. Jarrett, pp. 97, 182, 193.

³ Vide *supra*, *passim*.

⁴ ذوق vide Iṣṭilāḥāt-i-Ṣūfiyyah (Sprenger) s. v.

⁵ روغن مالکنگنی (raughan-i-māl-kaṅnī). Māl-kaṅnī is the Hindī name of celastrus or staff-tree. The oil is extracted from "the aromatic bitter seed" of this tree, and is "held in much repute for diseases of the stomach and bowels." Vide Fallon, s. v.

⁶ احوال آخرت مکشوف میشود. This is not one of the properties attributed to the drug by Fallon. It is pretty evident, from what Badāonī says, that the drug, whatever it may have been, was an intoxicant, used by Nizām-d-dīn's orders for the purpose of inducing a trance, or mock state of religious ecstasy. The ordering of the use of the drug on the particular occasions mentioned points to a debased superstition which has but little connection with pure Muḥammadanism.

⁷ The text inserts بر here, although the word appears in neither MS. and is pleonastic. I follow the readings of the MSS.

there were very few years in which he did ¹ not make a pilgrimage on foot, inflamed with strong desire and fervour, losing no time on the way, to the shrine of that holy polo-star of the world, Khāja Qutbu'd-din Bakhtiyār of Ūsh,² (may God sanctify his tomb!). Towards the end of his life, owing to old age, and other things which hindered him (from performing this pilgrimage), he used to celebrate the festival ³ of the sainted Khāja in Nārñol. In abandoning all outward show he followed the footsteps of his spiritual guide, and in his freedom from ceremoniousness and formality he regarded rich and poor alike, observing the same impartiality also in admitting disciples. I saw him when he was surrounded by a crowd, and so did not attain to the honour of conversing with him. His death took place in the year H. 997, (A.D. 1588-9,) and the words "Alas for Nizām"⁴ were found to give the date. 27.

XV. SHAIKHU'-L-HIDYA OF KHAIRĀBĀD.⁵

He was profoundly learned and in early life spent many years in teaching and giving instruction. He was a disciple of Shaikh Ṣafī, the spiritual successor of Shaikh Sa'id, and held from him a diploma, authorizing him to give religious instruction. In early life he employed ⁶ himself to such an extent in the acquisition of exoteric knowledge that there are now living many wise men,

¹ MS. (A) has here میرسید, which is wrongly substituted for نمیرسید. I have followed the reading of the text and MS. (B) which is correct.

² MS. (B) has (wrongly) اوشتی for اوشی. Ūsh is in Transoxiana and was the birthplace of the Khāja, who died on the 14th Rabi'ū-l-Awwal A.H. 634 (A.D. 1236). He was offered by Suljān Shamsu'd-din Iyaltamish the post of Shaikhu-l-Islām, which he declined. The Khāja's full name and titles were Khāja Qutbu'd-din Muḥammad Bakhtiyār-i-Ūshī-yi-Kāki. Vide Farishta, Bo. text, II. 717-723 and Ain-i-Akbari II. trans. Jarrett, 303 and note 2.

³ عرس. The term usually applied to the festival of a Musalmān saint in India. The word means "nuptials," and is used to signify the saint's union with God, the festival usually commemorating his death.

⁴ ۱۴ نظام. 1+5+50+900+1+40=997.

⁵ The chief town of a *sarkār* of the same name in the Ṣūba of Awadh (Oudh). The unusual name of this saint recurs in the Pādishāhnāma, as the name of one of Shāh Jahān's officers.

⁶ MS. (A) has wrongly, مشغول for مشغولی here. I follow the text, which is supported by MS. (B).

masters of perfection, who owe their wisdom to his teaching.¹ Latterly he devoted² himself wholly to the *Sūfī*-istic rule, founding an order of devotees, vowed to personal poverty, whose rule was resignation to God, retirement from the world, and the giving of alms. A keen appreciation of the ecstatic songs and dances (of *darvīshes*) and an overpowering religious ecstasy were comprised in his daily system of religious exercises,³ and were never omitted. He restrained his steps from wandering to the doors of men, especially of worldly men, and those of position and rank, and on these grounds he never accepted an invitation to a feast. All his offspring and followers secured the good fortune of the assistance of the example of his practice in enduring poverty and want. One of them was his true successor⁴ *Shaiikh* Abū-'l-Fath, who succeeded to his prayer-mat, and is one of the most pre-eminent⁵ among the learned men of this time. In his rules of conduct, both outward and inward, he follows, wholly and completely, his venerable father, and he is the author of many standard works on most branches of knowledge. Never did a beggar go away disappointed from the *Shaiikh*.

One day Muḥammad Husain Khān asked the *Shaiikh*, "What sort of a man was Sālār Mas'ūd,⁶ whom the common people of

¹ Lit. "are his heirs."

² The text has نمود while both MSS. have نمودة, which is correct.

³ The text has here درود وظیفه which is a very unsatisfactory reading. The MSS. give ورد و وظیفه, which is undoubtedly correct.

⁴ خلف مدق.

⁵ فحول pl. of فحول. Literally "males." The force of the expression will be understood when the Oriental view of masculine superiority is remembered.

⁶ Sister's son to Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznī. He was slain by Hindūs at Bahrāic, in Awadh (Oudh) on his wedding-day, which thus became, in a double sense, his عرس (vide *supra*). The point of the question, put to a presumably orthodox Musalmān, will be appreciated only by those who are acquainted with the latitudinarian cult of this "saint." Want of space compels me to forego an account of this cult, but those who are interested in the popular religion of Indian peoples and in the peculiar developments of Muhammadanism in India will do well to study "Heroes Five" by Mr. R. Greeven of the Indian Civil Service. Curiously enough this Northern Indian cult finds its counterpart in the Dakhan in the cult of 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān, a close relation of Sālār Mas'ūd, which however is not nearly so popular as is the cult of the latter.

India worship?" The Shaiikh replied, "He was an Afghān who met his death by martyrdom."¹

Towards the end of his life, in accordance with an Imperial summons, he came to Fathpūr and there saw the Khalīfa² (vice-gerent) of the age. When the Emperor heard that the Shaiikh, when the messenger conveyed the summons to him, set out from his hospice on foot, without allowing anything to detain him, travelling thus until his servants sent his baggage and travelling litter after him, he was much pleased. When he asked the Shaiikh a question the Shaiikh would make a sign to signify that he was hard of hearing, and the Emperor would give him a piece of gold. He also ordered that a subsistence allowance³ should be assigned to the Shaiikh, and then immediately gave him permission to depart. 28.

The Shaiikh's death occurred in the year H. 993 (A.D. 1585). May the mercy of God be upon him!

XVI. SHAIKH DĀ'UD OF CHATĪ.

(May God sanctify his soul!).

Chatī⁴ is the chief town of a *pargana* in the District of Lāhōr. The Shaiikh's noble ancestors came first from the land of the 'Arabs⁵ to Sitpūr,⁶ which is in the Multān country, and the holy Shaiikh was himself born in that place. His noble father proceeded⁷ from this world to eternity before his birth, and his mother died⁷ very shortly after it, and he, left alone, as an incomparable

¹ The very curtness of this reply shews the Shaiikh's unwillingness to countenance in any way the debased cult of Sālār Mas'ūd.

² Scil. Akbar.

³ مدد معاش. Either a subsistence allowance in money, or, more probably, lands held on *aima* tenure.

⁴ MS. (A) and the text have چہنی. MS. (B) has چہتی. The description of this town given in the text enables us to identify it with Chat. Chat and Ambāla (not to be confounded with the well-known military cantonment, which was in the Sirhind Sarkār of the *Ṣūba* of Dihli), together formed a *maḥall* in the Sarkār of the Bāri Dūāb in the *Ṣūba* of Lāhōr. Vide *Āin-i-Akbarī* Vol. II. (trans. Jarrett), p. 318.

⁵ ولایت عرب. A vague term including both Turkish Arabia and Arabia Proper.

⁶ A *pargana* town in the district "*Birūn-i-Panjnad*," (beyond the five rivers,) opposite the Sind Sāgar Dūāb Sarkār of the *Ṣūba* of Multān. A.A. II. (Jarrett), 331.

⁷ خراجید.

moderate in his requests, almost entirely devoid of the dissimulation so common at court, and entirely faithful and devoted to the Imperial Court. When the imperial forces were sent against Kūmbhulmer¹ he, having requested permission to accompany them, went thither in the hope of offering his life to your majesty, and was in action and was wounded, and when the fact was reported he received a reward. Jalāl Khān Qūrcī² first presented him at court, and said, when presenting him: "I have discovered for your majesty an *Imām*³ with whom you will be well pleased. Mir Fathu-'llāh⁴ also acquainted your sacred majesty, to some extent, with his affairs, and my respected brother⁵ is also aware of his circumstances; but it is well known that 'a grain of luck is better than a load of merit.'"

Since your majesty's court is the court of the just, your slave, acting as though he were present in person at the foot of the august throne, when he saw a helpless man suffering persecution, has represented the case to your majesty. Had he not represented it at this time he would, in a manner, have been guilty
 305 of insincerity and want of proper regard for the truth. May God (who is praised) deign to keep the slaves of your majesty's court constant in the path of truth, justice, and righteous dealing under the heavenly shadow of your majesty, their Emperor; and may He long maintain your majesty as their shelter, the cherisher of the miserable, the bestower of favours, the coverer of faults, with boundless wealth, glory, greatness and majesty, by the honour of the pure ones who dwell in the courts of God and the enlightened ones who rise betimes to praise him. Amen. Amen.

¹ This place, the name of which is variously spelt by Badāonī, is Kūmbhalgarh, a fortress on the western border of the Udaipur State in Rajputāna, about 40 miles north of Udaipur city. *Vide* text, vol. ii, pp. 227, 266. It was in April 1576 that Badāonī asked for and obtained leave to accompany this expedition.

² Jalāl Khān Qūrcī was a commander of five hundred. He distinguished himself in the field and Akbar was much attached to him. He was murdered, in mistake for Shimāl Khān, early in 1576. *Vide Āin-i-Akbarī* i, 475.

³ The reader and leader of prayers in the *musjid*.

⁴ *Vide* p. 216.

⁵ Shaiḫ Abū-l-Faḫr.

30. austerities, having conceived, by means of the attractions of God,—“which are equal to the acts of both men and *jinn*,”—a strong craving after God, his spiritual holiness *Ghaṣṣu-ṣṣaḡalain* (may God be pleased with him!) evinced, in all circumstances, great interest in his progress, and became his helper, assister, and guardian, keeping his regard always fixed upon him, openly listening to and returning favourable answers to his petitions, until he perforce drew him, after the manner of beloved ones who are attracted, and attracted ones who are beloved,¹ to the court of saintship, Divine guidance, and perfection, to the closet of propinquity (to God), to the chamber of the grandeur of God, and to the resting-place of the Holiness of the Lord of Majesty. When under the influence of this strong craving after God he used to wander bare-headed and bare-foot in the desert about *Dibālpūr*,² the dwelling-place of beasts of prey, wild animals, and birds, in a spot now known as *Shīrḡarh* :—

Hemistich.

“We are lovers wandering in the plains of Damascus.”³

And sometimes when he went to circumambulate⁴ the blessed shrine of that holy Saint, obeyed of all the world, *Ganj-i-Shakar*,⁵ (may God sanctify his tomb!) he would there receive signs, and experience happy visions, and engage in conversation and intercourse (with the saint's spirit), a detailed account of which is beyond the limits of this hastily compiled history. They are recounted in detail in the book (known as) *Naghāmāt-i-Dā'ūdī*,⁶ which was written by that cream of saints and fruit of the pure

¹ *محبوبان محبوب و محبوبان محبوب*. The pleonasm is unavoidable.

² Or *Dipālpūr*. The chief town of a *Sarkār* of the same name in the *Ṣāba* of Multān, now the headquarters of the *Dipālpūr Tahsil* in the Montgomery District, Panjāb. Vide Hunter's "*Imperial Gazetteer*" iv. 303. *Ain-i-Akbari* (trans. Jarrett), Vol. II. 331 *et passim*, and Raverty's "*Mihrān of Sindh*," J. A. S. B., Pt. I., 1892 *passim*.

³ MS. (A) has, wrongly, *و مستقیم* for *و مستقیم*.

⁴ Another instance of the use by Indian Muslims of the practice of circumambulation, which should be restricted to the *Ka'bah*, at the tombs of saints.

⁵ Vide *supra*, p. 19, n. 1.

⁶ The title of this book, written in honour of *Shaiikh Dā'ūd*, evidently bears reference to the psalms of David.

at heart, Shaikh Abū-'l-Ma'ālī, the son of Shaikh Rahmatu-'llāh, already mentioned, the date of whose most fortunate birth may be deduced from the words "the beggar of Shaikh Dā'ūd,"¹ or from the words "Abū-'l-Ma'ālī, the worshipper of the true (God),"² and who is now the successor of Shaikh Miyān Dā'ūd, (may God sanctify his soul!). When he had spent a period of twenty years, or thereabouts, in ecstatic longing after God and wandering over plains and deserts, he was inspired to revert to a regular mode of life³ and to the religious instruction of the people, but since he had had no outward religious instructor and guide he hesitated to undertake the charge, until he was initiated and appointed by his spiritual holiness Ghaus-i-A'zam⁴ for the following duty, namely, to assist, for the sake of preserving the spiritual succession, the reverend Shaikh Hāmid-i-Qādiri 31. (may God sanctify his tomb!) who was the son of Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Qādir the second, and the father of Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Qādir,⁵ who at the time of writing is occupying his venerable father's place in Ucc, by drawing him (more closely) to God. And the late saint, (may God have mercy upon him!) since he had already many times asked for assistance from this disciple, who was after his own heart, and turned to him in every important business, and had asked⁶ that a *fātiḥah*⁷ might be offered up on his (the late saint's) behalf, delayed to draw up his blessed tree of spiritual succession and to issue a permit for

1 گدای شیخ داود. $20+4+1+10+800+10+600+4+1+6+4=960$.

2 ابروالمعالی حق پرست. $1+2+6+1+30+40+70+1+30+10+8+100+2+200+60+400=961$. The totals of the two chronograms differ by one. This latter chronogram is given in Abū-'l-Ma'ālī's life, on p. 103 of the text of this volume as the date of his birth, and therefore presumably gives the correct date.

3 سیر و سلوک.

4 An instance of the belief among Muslims leading the religious life that something which seems, according to their ideas, to correspond to the Sacrament of Orders in the Christian Church, is necessary to enable a man to start as a religious instructor of the people.

5 His life is given on p. 91 (text) of this volume. (Chapter II, No. XVI.)

6 The word التماس is omitted in MS. (B) probably by an oversight of the copyist.

7 Prayers offered up for the welfare of any person. Vide "*Qānūn-i-Islām*," Ja'far Sharif and Herklots, s. v. "Fateeha neeut khyr kee."

perfecting of disciples until he himself went one day to the town of Satkara,¹ where the saint (may God have mercy upon him!) had many times previously lodged, on which occasion, when under the influence of his ecstatic longing after God, he said, "Here is Shaikh Ghaus-i-A'zam (may God be pleased with him!) who has come and signifies that he entrusts to me his prayer-carpet, staff, tree of spiritual succession, horse, covered litter, and all the appurtenances of Shaikh-dom and spiritual leadership." When the saint (may God² sanctify his tomb!) was informed from on high of that occurrence, and when his knowledge of it was afterwards completely confirmed, he entrusted the divine charge committed to him to him whom his soul desired, but who appeared as though he were the seeker (not the sought after), returning from his soaring flight (of ecstasy) to ordinary intercourse (with his fellow creatures), and spread the mat of sojourning in the newly-built town of Shirgarh, near to Chatī,³ and half-way between Multān and Pattan, started a new order, the Qādirīyyah,⁴ which is midway between the two exalted orders, Sahrawardīyyah and Cishtīyyah,⁵ (blessings on them, all three, from God!) and in the Divine power and by means of close connection with the true God, he so carried forward⁶ the work that the sound issuing therefrom will not die away⁷ until the sounding of the last trump.

When Mullā 'Abdu-'llāh of Sultānpūr, who was known as Makhdūmu-'l-Mulk, girded his loins to strenuous efforts

¹ *Vide suprā*, p. 48, n. 6.

² The word الله is omitted in MS. (B). As vowel points are not used the reading of MS. (B) is to the same purport as that of the text and MS. (A), but would be literally translated, "May his tomb be sanctified."

³ MS. (B). The text and MS. (A) have بجہنی. *Vide suprā*, p. 47, n. 6.

⁴ This order must not be confounded with an older order bearing the same title, instituted in A.H. 561 (A.D. 1165-6) by Sayyid 'Abdu-'l-Qādiri-'l-Jilānī, surnamed Pir-i-Dastgīr, whose shrine is at Bāghdād. The older order is the most popular religious order among the Sunnīs of Asia. Hughes' *Dict. of Islām*, s. v.

⁵ These orders have been already referred to. Following the names of these two orders the text wrongly has وسلسلۂ قادریہ. The conjunction must be omitted to make sense.

⁶ Both MSS. insert کے here, which makes nonsense, and is rightly omitted in the text.

⁷ Both MSS. have بنشیند, but the textual emendation is correct.

in uprooting the men of God,¹ becoming the means of the death of several of them, he sent an imperial order in the name of Salim² Shāh Sūr, the Afghān, from Gwāliyār, summoning the holy Miyān among others, in obedience to which order the Miyān set out in haste with one or two attendants, and, meeting Makhdūmu-'l-Mulk, outside Gwāliyār, with marks of the greatest³ respect,⁴ alighted in a spot where he sat down with him, and where a beneficial conversation took place. The pernicious mischief-makers, as soon as they witnessed this conversation, fled away to every corner, so that they could not be discovered even by search being made. Makhdūmu-'l-Mulk said, "Their report is not on this ground (alone) falsified."⁵ After much talk and conversation the Shāikh asked "What was the real motive for summoning us religious mendicants?" Makhdūmu-'l-Mulk replied, "I heard that your disciples, when performing the religious exercise of zikr, said 'O Dā'ūd, O Dā'ūd!'" The Shāikh replied "There has probably been some mistake in hearing, owing to a similarity of sounds, or else my followers must have said 'O Wadūd, O Wadūd!'"⁶ In connection with this matter the Shāikh remained for a whole day, or a whole night,⁷

¹ Vide Badā'uni, Vol. I. (trans. Ranking), pp. 513-525. The "men of God" referred to seem to have been the Mahdavis.

² سليم MS. (A). The text has the corrupted form اسليم.

³ تمام omitted in MS. (B). The text rightly follows MS. (A).

⁴ The text has بتعظيم واحترام, erroneously. Both MSS. read بتعظيم واحترام.

⁵ ازین روی دروغ نیاید. MS. (A) has نبدید. The text rightly follows MS. (B).

⁶ Makhdūmu-'l-Mulk accused Shāikh Dā'ūd of permitting his disciples to address their zikr (vide Hughes' "Dict. of Islam," s. v.), directly to him (Dā'ūd) instead of to God. Dā'ūd rebuts the accusation by asserting that the words actually used, which might conceivably have been mistaken for "O, Dā'ūd!" were "O, Wadūd!" i.e., "O, God!" ودود means "loving." الملك الودود "the loving King" is one of the titles of God.

⁷ یک روز با مخدوم الملك یا یک شب بود. The editor of the text appears to be doubtful as to the meaning of the words یک شب, for he finds it necessary to explain in an apologetic footnote that this is the reading of each of the three MSS. to which he had access. It seems to me that the author means to say that Dā'ūd spent about twelve hours with Makhdūmu-'l-Mulk, and that he (the author) cannot say whether the conference began in the morning or in the evening.

bestowing on him sublime exhortations and advice, and imparting to him precious knowledge and facts relating to God.¹ Makh-dūmu-'l-Mulk was much affected and dismissed the Shaiikh from that place with honour.

On one occasion the austerity and piety of Miyān Hīsāmu-'d-dīn of Talamba,² may God have mercy upon him! (some of whose glorious attributes are mentioned in the Najātun-'r-Rashīd) happened to be the subject of conversation in the noble assembly of the Shaiikh, and he said "Ah, what a pity was it that the Miyān failed in personal desire of and love for God, and was the slave of mere morality:—

Hemistich.

"Thou hast kept one thing, and (many) things are lost to thee."

"Beware, at the last,³ from whom thou remainest apart."⁴

33. The liberality and charity of the Shaiikh's disposition were such that on certain fixed occasions,⁵ either once or twice in the year, he scattered abroad in promiscuous charity⁶ all the money and goods that he had received gratuitously, and he and his chaste wife kept nothing in the cell that was their dwelling but an earthen pot and a piece of old matting, and when he saw that his treasure-chest was full he would again in the same manner disburse its contents in promiscuous charity,⁷ and notwithstanding this (profusion), on the birth-day and feast-day of the holy Ghaṣṣ-i-A'zam (may God be pleased with him!) all the needs⁸ of the pilgrims, whether of high or low degree, who, to the number of nearly a hundred thousand souls, more or less, were gathered together, were met by disbursements from the alms-chest of his hospice,

1 معارف وحقائق ارجمند.

2 Vide *supra*, p. 3, n. 4.

3 MS. (A) has اگر. The text, rightly following MS. (B), reads آخر.

4 MS. (B) omits باز.

5 The text reads در هر چند گاه. Both MSS. read در سر هر چند گاه. MS. (B) adds خود after گاه. This may or may not be an interpolation. It signifies only that the occasions were fixed by the Shaiikh himself.

6 بتاراج میدادند "he relinquished to rapine." Both MSS. read, for میدادی, میدادند. I prefer the reading of the text.

7 یغما میفرمودند "he ordered a raid (to be made)."

8 ما محتاج الیه. MS. (B) omits الیه.

and that profusion, praise be to God, is still continued, nay rather, is increased many fold. Some of the auspicious utterances of his inspired tongue, the interpreter of divine truths, are as follows ¹:—

“In the name of God, the Director and Guide in the darkness of oceans and deserts.” I have many times seen and experienced the efficiency of this holy saying in positions of fear ² and danger. Another is:—

“Praised be He in respect of Whose Essence our thoughts are bewildered,

“Praised be He in respect of the understanding of Whom our understanding soars.” ³

And there are many other examples of such prayers, praises *ṣikrs* and choice phrases, and the signet-ring posy of that holy man, composed by himself, was as follows:—

“Dā’ūd has been effaced in name and trace

“For poverty effaces all traces.”

When I, the author of these pages, in the time of Bairām Khān, (that best of times, when India was as a bride,⁴) was a student in Āgra, I heard from certain *darrīshes* great reports of the *Shaiḡh*’s noble and majestic attributes, and from that time forward I sowed the seed of attachment to and trust in him in the ground of preparation (for meeting him) and was in secret a slave to this desire (of meeting him).

34.

Hemistich.

“Aye, verily ⁵ doth the ear, in true lovers, outstrip ⁶ the eye.”

¹ اینست, omitted in MS. (A).

² مخاوف. MS. (B) has مخلوقات which does not make sense.

³ Both MSS. read تطمیر, and there is a footnote in the text giving this as the reading of the MSS. It is, however, wrong. The reading of the text (تتطیر) is probably correct, though it is not very good Arabic.

⁴ Badāoni’s abhorrence of the infidelity of Abū’l-Faẓl and Akbar’s later advisers causes him to forget his abhorrence of the *Shi’ah* tenets of Bairām Khān.

⁵ آری آری. MS. (B) has رای رای, which is nonsense.

⁶ پیش می‌شود text. MS. (A) has پیش می‌شود, which reading I prefer, as it seems to me that می‌رود would accompany پیش more fitly than می‌شود, I have nevertheless translated the phrase by “outstrip” rather than by “excel.” The meaning does not suffer. The reading of MS. (B) is not distinct.

And at that very time I repeatedly made attempts to go and pay my respects to that holy man, clothing myself in the pilgrim's garment meet for the circumambulation of that threshold around which the angels do go, and set out¹ for Shīrgarh (with this object). But sometimes my father, who has now obtained pardon and forgiveness of his sins, withstood me and turned me back in the way, and sometimes I was let by other hindrances, which were the means of disappointing me of the fruition of that good fortune. A period of twelve years passed over me, thus expectant, before one of the servants of that court, Shaiikh Kālū by name, a solitary traveller, who had himself² formerly been the means of my secret knowledge of the Shaiikh, like the *humā*, from hidden regions cast his shadow on Badāon and its environs, and said to me, "Is it not a pity that the holy *Miyān* (Shaiikh Dā'ūd) should be in the land of the living and that you should (be content to) rest with hope unfulfilled and should not even once see him?" This soul-subduer kindled a fire in my perplexed soul, and the Most High God provided the means (of the fulfilment of my desire), for Muḥammad Ḥusain Khān, in whose³ personal service I was, went in pursuit of Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mirzā from Kānt u Gūla⁴ towards the Panjāb, and the means of attaining that happiness were thus prepared⁵ for me, so that, as has been already mentioned,⁶ I went to Shīrgarh from Lāhūr, and saw with my own eyes a portion of the (spiritual) beauty of the holy man—and what possessor of beauty can be compared to him? As he smiled and spoke light sparkled from his teeth,⁷ a light which illuminated the dark abode of the

1 The verb شد is omitted in both MSS. and rightly inserted in the text.

2 The text has همون. Both MSS. read همو, which is correct.

3 که wrongly omitted in MS. (A).

4 Vide Badāonī, Vol. II (text), p. 153. These events happened in the year H. 981 (A.D. 1573-4). Kānt u Gūla (Shābjahānpūr) was Muḥammad Ḥusain Khān's jāgir.

5 مهیا کردند MS. (B) has مهیا گردید.

6 بطوریکه سابقه تحریر یافت (text). Both MSS. have سابقا. The sense is not affected.

7 نوری از ثنایای مبارک ایشان میتافت. The literal translation of this ("a light sparkled from his auspicious incisors") reads so very grotesquely in English that I have softened the expression of Badāonī's almost idolatrous veneration for the Shaiikh. In plain English the phrase means no more than that the holy man showed his teeth when he smiled.

heart, and from which the secret of the Countenance of God was manifested. In short for the space of three or four days I acquired some advantage from this transitory life.

Few days passed on which Hindus, to the number of fifty or a hundred, more or less (on each day), did not come with their families and kindred to pay their respects to that holy man, receiving the high honour of conversion to Islām, and obtaining instruction in the faith.¹ I found the gates and walls and trees and dwellings of that delectable town filled with the sound of the telling of rosaries and the reciting of God's praises, and the *Shaiikh* bestowed on me his auspicious cap, saying,² "Be³ thou my deputy to thine own people, for (thus to appoint a deputy) is my wont," and he sent a kerchief and a veil from his chaste wife⁴ to my wives⁵ and children, and when I made a representation to him, saying, "If you bestow on me the gift of a shirt, it will be light upon light." After some reflection he said "That also will arrive in due time." Having disclosed to him some of the secrets of my heart and my designs and intentions, I endeavoured to obtain leave to depart. At this point⁶ that holy man left his *masjid* in his closed travelling litter, owing to his great weakness, and set out for my first halting-place. I, taking the pole of the litter on my shoulder, walked for some paces with it. While I was thus employed a powerful fit of weeping overcame me, and the *Shaiikh*, stopping the litter, said, "Put me down." He alighted, and sat down, and spoke so much of the knowledge and love of God, the Most High, that my agitation re-doubled. One day, at the time of

35.

¹ Badāonī's enthusiasm probably leads him into some exaggeration here. Taking the number "fifty or a hundred" to be about seventy-five, and supposing that these conversions were made on two hundred days in each year—a very mild rendering of the author's statement—we should have a result of 15,000 converts *per annum*.

² The text rightly follows MS. (B) with *فرموده*. MS. (A) has *فرموده*, which is incorrect.

³ MS. (B) incorrectly omits the word *باش*.

⁴ Lit. "the folk of the house of purity," a circumlocution in strict accordance with Muslim etiquette.

⁵ The text reads *متعلقان*. Both MSS. have *متعلقات*, which I prefer.

⁶ *در این میان*. MS. (B) has *درینمیا*, a mis-spelling due to the employment, in speaking, of the *غنة هندی*.

leave-taking, I represented, through Miyān 'Abdu-'l-Wahhāb, one of the Shaiikh's sincere companions, (to whom is applicable the text), "Blessedness awaiteth them and a goodly home,"¹ that a report was current among the holy men of Hindustān that the time for the rising of a religious leader was at hand, that most of that body, (i.e., the holy men,) concurred in fixing on one of the Sayyids of that country, whose ancestors had formerly been seated on the throne of empire in Dihlī and Badāon for some time,² that they were engaged in making preparations for a holy war and in collecting arms,³ that they professed to have received directions⁴ from the holy Ghaṣ-i-A'zam⁵ (may God be pleased with him!) to engage in this affair, and that they had implicated with themselves some of the Amirs on the frontier, and that some of them professed to have received supernatural encouragement during their assemblies and when they were in difficulties, and purposed to bring the object of their desire to an issue. The Shaiikh asked me, "What 36. is that Sayyid's mode of life, and condition?" I said "He is a man who lives a retired life, in holy poverty,⁶ conformably to the sacred law, a recluse and an ascetic who has resigned himself to God, passing most of his days among the tombs (of holy men) and his nights in his cell in worship and submission to God, but he is a

طوبى لهم وحسن مآب ١. *Qur'ān XIII. 28.*

² This was evidently a descendant of Sulṭān 'Alā'u-d-Dīn ibn-i-Muḥammad Shāh ibn-i-Mubārak Shāh ibn-i-Khiṣr Khān, the last Emperor of the Sayyid dynasty. Vide Badāonī, Vol. I. (trans. Ranking), pp. 400-402. This dynasty was not exterminated as was the usual custom when an usurpation of the throne took place, but the last Emperor was, in accordance with his own request, permitted by Bahlūl Lōdī, the usurper, to retire to Badāon. It seems that Badāonī himself, disgusted with the fashionable infidelity, favoured the claims of this pretended Mahdī.

³ و omitted in MS. (B).

⁴ ما موريم. MS (B) has ما موريم, which is nonsense.

⁵ Vide *supra* for the biography of Ghaṣ-i-A'zam. MS. (B) has the Arabic form Ghaṭhu-'l-A'dham.

⁶ The text here has the particle و, which is in neither MS. Its interpolation is unidiomatic.

man of good family,¹ unrivalled and incomparable in his knowledge of the military art, of excellent moral character and following a most worthy mode of life." The *Shaiikh* said "The members of that body (i.e., the holy men), are no true *darrishes*, in that they so traduce the holy *Ghaus*,² and do him violence now that he can no longer help himself,³ and those spiritual encouragements and signs are all part of the delusions of Satan, for how could the holy *Ghaus* (may God be pleased with him!) countenance such matters as this, he whose rule it always was that the people should expel the love of the world from their hearts, and, in all candour and sincerity, should set their faces towards the love of God, the Most High, abandoning vain desires and lusts, and not that one should turn aside from the path of worship, asceticism and holy endeavour to fall again into the net of the world, which is the enemy of God? Say to that *Sayyid* from me, "May God the Most High vouchsafe to you grace to stand fast in the path which you hold. If the least suspicion of any desire for evanescent delights remains (in your heart), it behoves you to strive to overcome it, and not to be beguiled by the impostures and misrepresentations of a bewildered band of know-nothings,⁴ thereby straying from the path. Though the lover of the world should attain to kingship,—the supreme object of worldly men, and the seeker after the (sensual) joys of paradise⁵ should reach the rewards bestowed by the Everlasting God, that is, the maidens and mansions⁶ of the next world, and

قبيله دار. Possibly "a married man with a family," but I prefer the translation which I have given, on account of what follows. The assertion that the religious *Sayyid* was a married man would make the statement that he was acquainted with the art of war a *non sequitur*. The assertion that he is of imperial descent gives a reason for his knowledge of that art.

² The text here inserts *رضى الله عنه*. These words are in neither MS. and I have omitted them.

³ *و راي آن بپياري مي زنند* lit. "commit highway robbery on that helpless one." *De mortuis nil nisi bonum*.

⁴ *جمع پریشان نادان*. The paradox contained in the expression cannot well be expressed in English.

⁵ *طالب آخرت*. (B) has *آخر*, evidently a copyist's error. The context clearly shews that this expression is used here for one who is religious solely for the purpose of attaining to the sensual joys promised to good Muslims in the next world.

⁶ The text has *حور قصور*. Both MSS. have the conjunction *و*, which the sense requires.

the lover of God¹ should die of grief from the utter hopelessness of attaining his object, yet is the disappointment of this last a thousand-fold² better and more happy than the fruition and attainment of desire experienced by the former two classes of poor-spirited men." And the Shaiikh, speaking on this subject, scattered amongst us so many jewels of profitable advice that pearl-like tears began to fall from the eyes of those that heard him, upon the skirts of their robes, and, that (worldly) object being forgotten, we were thrown into quite a different frame of mind, one above description, and³ in that state of burning anguish I bade the Shaiikh adieu, uttering cries of grief.

"My heart, in the hope that one cry might perchance reach thee,

"Has uttered in this mountain lamentations such as were never uttered by Farhād."

And since the roads between Lāhōr and Shīrgarh were, in consequence of the rebellion⁴ of the Ulugh Baigi Mirzās,⁵ closed, both at the time of my going to Shīrgarh and at the time of my return, and as I was alone, the Shaiikh gave me an attendant as a guide, who was to take me to Shaiikh Abū Ishāq-i-Mihrang in Lāhōr,⁶ one of the most noted of the holy man's deputies, in order that he might arrange to send me with a caravan to the army of Ḥusain Khān, which had come to Lāhōr from Tālamba, and was to proceed thence to Kānt-u-Gūla. "When I reached Lāhōr I set out for Hindustān with Ḥusain Khān's men." I was

¹ I.e., he who loves God for His own sake, irrespective of any hope of reward. Cf. S. Francis Xavier's hymn, "O Deus, ego amo te!"

² هزار بار. Both MSS. have هزار هزار. The reading of the text appears to me to be preferable.

³ The text omits و, though both MSS. have it.

⁴ فترت. (B) has قراءت, which makes nonsense.

⁵ I understand this phrase to mean the Mirzās who were, with their relative Ulugh Mirzā (not Ulugh Baig Mirzā, who was a younger brother of 'Umar Shaiikh Mirzā and uncle of Bābar) in rebellion.

⁶ His biography is given on p. 48 (text) of this volume, but no reference is made to the title مهرنگ. In the reading I follow MS. (A). The text and MS. (B) have میهرنگ. The *Āin-i-Akbari* (Calcutta text I. 233) reads فرنگ.

sitting one day at our halting-place at Sahāranpūr¹ in a garden, consumed with grief at my separation from that holy man, when a traveller brought to me a *Qādirī*² shirt, which he had in his hand, saying, "Take this, which I received from the hand of a venerable saint, and give me something to help me on my way."³ When I questioned him as to the truth of the matter he said, "When Mirzā Ibrāhīm Ḥusain met with that mischance⁴ I, with a party of his troops, overwhelmed with misfortune and a prey to plunderers, arrived stripped and naked at Shīrghāh, where we attached ourselves to the holy saint, our helper, and he gave something to each of us. When my turn came round he took this shirt off his blessed body, and bestowed it upon me. I, thinking that it would be irreverent to wear it, deposited it in safe custody, with a view to taking it away to some place as a rare gift; and now I leave it with you." I received from him that mysteriously conveyed gift, that treasure wafted to me by the wind, as though it had been a blessing and benediction.

38.

Verses.

The perfume of thy shirt has reached me,
My soul was ravished by that sweet odour.
I had offered a *fātiḥah*⁵ for union with thee,
Praise be to God that my *fātiḥah* was accepted.

And, remembering the word that he had spoken, I regarded this occurrence as a miracle,⁶ and I now preserve that Joseph's coat⁷ as I preserve my life—and praise be to God for all this!

¹ The chief town of the *Sarkār* of the same name in the *Ṣūba* of Dillī. Now the headquarters of the District of the same name in the N.-W. P.

² This expression seems to have puzzled the editor of the text, for he appends a footnote stating that it occurs in all the three MSS. to which he had access. The *Qādirī* shirt was probably a shirt of a distinctive pattern or cut, worn by the *Qādiriyyah* order of ascetics, founded by *Shaiḫ* Dā'ūd.

³ پارے خرچہ. Both MSS. have, wrongly, خرچہ.

⁴ *Scil.* when his army was defeated at Talamba. *Vide* Badāonī, text, vol. II., pp. 157, 158.

⁵ A prayer for the attainment of an object, the recitation of the فاتحة or first chapter of the *Qur'ān* being part of the exercise.

⁶ It is quite possible that the soldier may have been instructed by *Shaiḫ* Dā'ūd to deliver the shirt to Badāonī, without mentioning that he was merely a messenger.

⁷ *Lit.* "Joseph's shirt." The reference is obvious.

Verses.

And as I have been the companion of desire for his excellency
From the cradle, I hope that (that desire) will continue to
the grave.

Verses.

Desire for thee within my mind, and love for thee within my
heart,
Did enter me with mother's milk, and with my life will leave
me.

The following is a brief account of that holy man. He was the cynosure¹ of his time, an inspired prophet, and a worker of wonders and manifest miracles, giving clear proofs of his sanctity.² He had undergone severe discipline³ and in holy endeavour had striven much. In early life⁴ he acquired exoteric knowledge and had also been engaged in teaching. He had resigned himself to God and lived an eremite, going never to the houses of worldly men but once, when in obedience to the (royal) command he went from Shīrgarh to Gwāliyār to see Salīm Shāh,⁵ and although the *Khalīfah* of the age,⁶ when he was proceeding to Patan sent Shahbāz Khān⁷ to summon the *Shaiikh* to bestow on him the honour of a visit, the *Shaiikh* made his excuses, saying,

39. "My secret prayers are sufficient." He avoided to the utmost of his power the companionship of the lords of the earth,

¹ قطب, literally "the pole-star," "the pivot on which everything turns, or the point of attraction." "Cynosure," as used by Milton, fairly represents the sense in English.

² The text has حَجَّج. MS. (B) has حَجَّج, and MS. (A) has حَجَّج, which has been altered to حَجَّج. حَجَّج is without doubt the true reading.

³ The text follows MS. (A) with رِیَاضَات. (B) has رِیَاضَات.

⁴ یتیم—Text and MS. (A). MS. (B) has یتیم, which is wrong.

⁵ Vide *supra*, p. 53, n. 2. The text has the corrupted form اسلیم, also the MSS.

⁶ Scil. the Emperor Akbar, who went to Gujarāt in A.H. 981 (A.D. 1573-4).

⁷ Shahbāz Khān-i-Kambū. Vide *Āin-i-Akbari* I. (trans. Blochmann's) 399. Shahbāz Khān was probably selected for the mission as being, himself, of a holy family.

investing himself with the cloak of "Poverty is my glory."¹ He was constant in almsgiving, and in pointing out to searchers after truth the path of holiness, and whosoever was so aided by fortune as to be led to the Shaiikh received great profit from the precious utterances of that blessing of the age and cynosure² of the world. In the year II. 982 (A.D. 1574-5) his tent was pitched under the curtain of the Majesty of God the Most High, and in the Court of union with Him, may His glory be exalted! The words "Ah, Shaiikh Dā'ūd the Saint!"³ were found to give the date (of his death). May God bestow upon him His boundless mercy, and raise us with him in that hour when all shall be gathered together.⁴

XVII. SHAIKH⁵ ABAN OF AMROHA.⁶

He was a traveller in the path (of righteousness) and was mysteriously attracted (by the love of God), but notwithstanding this he neglected not one jot of the observances of the pure Law.⁷ Many miracles are related as having been performed

¹ A saying of Muḥammad. It is related that a beggar came to Muḥammad complaining that he was poor. Muḥammad replied "Poverty is my glory." Shortly afterwards a second beggar approached with the same complaint. Muḥammad replied, "Poverty is disgrace both in this world and the next." On being asked by his companions how these two apparently contradictory sayings could be reconciled, he said, "Did ye not see that the first man had forsaken the world, while the second had been forsaken by the world?"

² قَبْلَة, the point towards which all face in prayer. "Cynosure" does not literally translate either قَبْلَة or قطب (*vide supra*) but it is the nearest word we have in English to these words in the sense in which they occur in the text.

³ يا شيخ داود ولي. $10 + 1 + 300 + 10 + 600 + 4 + 1 + 6 + 4 + 6 + 30 + 10 = 982$.

⁴ For another account of Badā'oni's visit to this saint *vide* Badā'oni, vol. II. (text), pp. 156, 157. Ḥasain Khān, Badā'oni's patron, also visited him about the same time, *vide* Badā'oni II., 156.

⁵ A footnote in the text gives "*Sayyid*" as a variant, but both MSS. have "Shaiikh."

⁶ A *pargana* town in the *sarkār* of Sambhal, *Śāṭa* Dillī. *Vide* *Āin-i-Akbarī*, vol. II. (trans. Jarrett), 289.

⁷ That is to say that the Shaiikh, though a *Śūfī*, observed the ceremonial and ritual law. This is mentioned as something uncommon, for *Śūfīs* believe that their supposed close union with God absolves them from the obligation of such observances.

by him. He lived and received disciples without pomp or ceremony. When I after waiting upon the holy Miyān Shaikh Dā'ūd¹ (may his honoured tomb be sanctified!) was returning from the Panjāb and travelled to Badāon by way of Amroha, I paid my respects to the Sayyid already mentioned.² He read a verse from the glorious word (of God), and delivered an address, not on any fixed theme,³ but now and again he would turn to me and make some remarks on the excellence of the reward and recompense⁴ reserved for the long-suffering, and he quoted the blessed text "But good works, which are lasting..."⁵ and so on to the end of the verse. And it afterwards⁶ became manifest that this was an indication of the occurrence of a calamity which happened to me. The facts were briefly thus: I had a daughter,

¹ *Vide supra*, in the account of Shaikh Dā'ūd's life (No. XVI).

² *Scil.* Shaikh Aban. His being here styled "the Sayyid" may account for the variant referred to in note 5 on the preceding page.

³ لا على التعيين, may be translated either as above, or by "not by appointment," which would mean that the discourse was not one of a regular series or delivered at a time when the Shaikh was in the habit of delivering an address. The text and MS. (B) have التعيين, MS. (A) has التعين, which is better.

⁴ اجر. MS. (B) has اجر, evidently a copyist's error.

⁵ These words, وَالْبَاقِيَاتُ الصَّالِحَاتُ occur twice in the Qur'an, once in Sūrah XVIII. 44.

وَالْبَاقِيَاتُ الصَّالِحَاتُ خَيْرٌ عِندَ رَبِّكَ ثَوَابًا وَخَيْرٌ أَعْمَالًا

"But good works, which are lasting, are better in the sight of thy Lord as to recompense, and better as to hope."

And in Sūrah XIX. 79.

وَالْبَاقِيَاتُ الصَّالِحَاتُ خَيْرٌ عِندَ رَبِّكَ ثَوَابًا وَخَيْرٌ عَمَلًا

"And good works, which are lasting, are better in the sight of thy Lord as to recompense, and better in the issue (than all worldly possessions)."

It was probably the second of these two texts that the Shaikh quoted, for the former is but a portion of a verse, while the latter is a complete verse. There is, however, no real difference between the meanings of the two passages. There is a difference of one word only in the Arabic and this difference in no way alters the sense in either case.

⁶ بعد از این. MS. (A) has بعد از آن.

whom I dearly loved, and while I was on this journey¹ she passed away in Badāon from this deceitful world. Probably those consoling subjects were (mentioned) for the comfort of my heart—but God knows all! 40.

The Shāikh's death occurred in the year H. 987 (A.D. 1579).

XVIII. KHĀJA 'ABDU-'SH-SHAHĪD.

He was the orthodox successor of Khājagān² Khāja who was the true successor of the holy Khāja-yi-Ahrār (may God sanctify their souls!). When Khāja 'Abdu-'sh-Shahid was born he was taken to the holy Khāja-yi-Ahrār, who took him in his arms and said "He will be a wise man." The revered Khāja was perfect both in outward appearance and in inward qualities.³ He practised severe austerities,⁴ striving much in the path of holiness, and was a compendium of all such perfection as man can attain to. The people acquired grace from the precious utterances of that model of virtuous men, being directed thereby in the path of righteousness and godly living.⁵ He walked in the footsteps of the holy Khāja-yi-Ahrār (may God sanctify his tomb!).

Coming from Samarqand to India he remained here for seventeen years, and in the year H. 982 (A.D. 1574-5) he said, "The time of my departure draws nigh, and I have been commanded to convey this handful of bones, of which I am composed, to the burying place of my ancestors in Samarqand." He then set out for Samarqand, and on his arrival at Kābul it happened that Mirzā Shāh Rukh had just taken the people of Kābul captive, and was returning with them to Badakhshān.⁶ By means of the intercession of the Khāja nearly ten thousand persons obtained deliverance from the bonds of tyrants and oppressors. Two or

¹ The particle و is wrongly omitted from the text, which follows MS. (B). The reading of MS. (A) is correct.

² The text and (B) have خواجه which makes no sense as a name, unless we take it to be a corruption consequent on the use of the عند هند خواجهان is the correct reading, as in MS. (A).

³ Or, perhaps, "in exoteric and esoteric knowledge."

⁴ The text follows MS. (A) with ریاضات. (B) has ریاضت.

⁵ The text and MS. (B) have طریقه سلوک. MS. (A) has طریقه و سلوک. The difference does not affect the sense.

⁶ Vide "*Ain-i-Akbari*," vol. I. (trans. Blochmann), p. 312.

41. three days after his arrival in Samarqand he bade farewell to this evanescent world,¹ and was buried beside his noble ancestors. The Khāja's dignity is so high² that there is no necessity to attempt to establish it by a recital of the wonders and miracles worked by that essence of perfect qualities. The writer of these lines saw from afar the comeliness of the holy Khāja when he came to bid farewell to the Khalīfah of the age, on the occasion when the Imperial Camp, at the time of its return from Patna³ had arrived⁴ in the district of Bhūngāon and Patiyāli⁵ but I did not attain to the happiness of attending⁶ on him, or to the good fortune of approaching⁷ him. The peace of God be upon him and upon⁸ his noble ancestors.

XIX. SHAIKH ADHAN OF JAUNPŪR.⁹

(On him be God's mercy and acceptance.)

He was the disciple of his own venerable father, Shaiikh Bahā'u-'d-din, of the Qishṭī¹⁰ order, who was, in his time, deferred

¹ MS. (B) has for جهان فانی which is correct, جهانی فانی which is altogether incorrect.

² MS. (B) has, عالتر، عالتر، which does not make sense.

³ This is spelt پتنه in both MSS. a spelling which is quite correct in Persian, in which language the letter ت does not exist. The editor of the text has Indianized it into پتنه.

⁴ MS. (A) has رسیده بود. The text and MS. (B) omit the auxiliary. The reading of MS. (A) is preferable.

⁵ Two pargana towns in the sarkār of Kananj, Śāba Āgra. Vide A. A. II. (trans. Jarrett), pp. 184, 185.

⁶ ملازمت wrongly omitted from MS. (B).

⁷ میجارت. MS. (B) has, instead, محاورت, which would mean "holding converse with." I have adopted the reading of MS. (A), followed in the text, (A) being, in my opinion, a better authority to follow than (B). Apart from the question of authority I see no reason to prefer میجارت to محاورت.

⁸ These words (و علی) are omitted from MS. (B). Their omission destroys the sense.

⁹ The principal town of the sarkār of the same name in the Śāba of Ilāhābās or Ilāhābād. It was for a time the capital of a Muhammadan kingdom. It is now the head-quarters station of the Jaunpur District, N.-W. P.

¹⁰ This order has been already described.

to¹ by the holy men of the age. He reached the full period of man's natural life,² nay, he exceeded it, for his sons, being seventy or eighty years of age, attended him, likewise his grandsons, in their degrees.³ He spent the best part of his life wholly and completely in worship and in acquiring the knowledge of God.

Although he had acquired much exoteric knowledge, yet he never gave instruction therein. He possessed to the highest degree perception of God, a keen longing after ecstatic songs and dances, and the faculty of being overcome by religious ecstasy.⁴ In spite of his bodily feebleness, and constitutional weakness, and the languor which prevailed over all his limbs, which were such that he could hardly arise from his couch⁵ to perform the ceremonial ablutions, the prayers and other⁶ necessary acts without the assistance of his attendants, yet, whenever he heard the strains⁷ of holy song he would arise in ecstasy and would involuntarily⁸ join in the dance, with such violence and strength that several persons could not, by their bodily power, restrain him.⁹ Similarly in the case of the ritual prayers, he would perform the recitation of the *shahada* of Muhammad and the supererogatory prayers¹⁰ in a sitting posture, and after Le

had been lifted up and had been placed in the posture for commencing the ritual prayers¹ he performed them standing, without any need of help. And it is matter of common notoriety that miracles, which came as naturally to him as eating and drinking, 42. were performed by him without any ostentation. He left a numerous progeny, of auspicious disposition, and his wise sons, gray-bearded men, used to sit on either side of him in his illustrious assembly, for the purpose of receiving instruction, in such numbers that he who entered would be in doubt as to which was the holy Shaiikh and which were his offspring. He compiled so many treatises of his sayings regarding the divine law, the path of holiness, and the Truth, that they are beyond the reckoning of ordinary people, nay of most of those who are specially endowed,² nor can the hand of any imperfect and lewd person even touch the skirt of the interpreter of those divine secrets.

The following fact (also) gave rise to suspicion, namely, that when the Khalifah of the Age led his forces on the second occasion against Jaunpūr,³ with a view to repelling and overthrowing his enemies, and there yet remained a three days' journey between the Imperial camp and Jaunpūr, the Shaiikh died in the city,⁴ drawing over the face of his existence the veil of concealment from this transitory world, and becoming thereby the verifier of (the text):—"Nay, rather, they are living in the sight of their Lord."⁵

The writer of these pages never had the honour of waiting upon that pattern for the world.⁶

1 حريمه مي بست.

2 خواص. Badāoni is evidently referring to those learned in theological bibliography.

3 The expedition against Jaunpūr in 968 A.H. (A.D. 1561) must be the one referred to here. The date does not coincide with the date of the Shaiikh's death, and I am unable to account for the discrepancy. I can find no mention of an expedition against Jaunpūr in A.H. 970. Vide Badāoni II. (text), 43, 49.

4 بلد مذکور. MS. (A) has بلد مذکور, which is more elegant.

5 Qur'ān iii. 163. The whole verse:—

وَلَا تَحْسَبَنَّ الَّذِينَ قُتِلُوا فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ أَمْوَاتًا بَلْ أَحْيَاءُ عِنْدَ رَبِّهِمْ يُرْزُقُونَ -

"And repute not those slain on God's path to be dead: Nay, rather, alive with their Lord they are provided for."

6 آفاق. Lit. "horizons."

His death occurred in the year H. 970 (A.D. 1562-3) and the words "Shaiikh Adhau"¹ were found to give the date of his death.

XX. SHAIKH 'ABDUL-GHAFFAR OF A'ZAMPÜR.

A'zampür² is a *pargana* town in the *Sarkār* of Sambal. The Shaiikh was the disciple of Shaiikh 'Abdu'l-Quddūs, of the *Cish'ti* order.³ He was perfect both in form and in inward qualities. He underwent severe discipline and strove⁴ much in the way of holy endeavour. Divine grace was his companion in the following of the footsteps of the holy seal of prophecy,⁵—may God bless and give peace to him and his family! He used very soon to obtain influence over any one who was thrown into his company, and how little adaptable soever a student might be, the attractions of the Shaiikh would carry him beyond himself and would make him, even against his will,⁶ inclined to the Shaiikh's service.

The Shaiikh spent most of his time in giving instruction in religious knowledge. His eloquent words were peace to the turbulent heart, and his wonder working tongue balm to the longing soul. In beauty of form and sweetness of disposition he was chief among his contemporaries. He received disciples and exhorted and advised the people. He wrote treatises on the mysticism of the *Sūfis*. In truth there can be no manner of doubt as to the Shaiikh's perfections of body and mind. After planting his footsteps within the circumference of (what is understood by the saying) "Octogenarians are God's own freed men,"⁷ he took his departure, in the course of the year H. 985

¹ 300 + 10 + 600 + 1 + 4 + 5 + 50 = 970.

² Vide *Āin-i-Akbari* II. (trans. Jarrett), 289.

³ A short account of this order has already been given.

⁴ MS. (B) wrongly omits the word کرد here.

⁵ I.e., Muhammad, styled "the seal of the prophets" as being the last to whom a divine revelation is to be entrusted. The expression ختمی پنا cannot be literally translated into English. It signifies "one in whom the sealing, or completion of prophecy finds its refuge"—a clumsy phrase in English but very concise and expressive in Persian.

⁶ بی اختیار.

⁷ That is, freed from sin. This is one of the "sayings" of Muhammad,

(A.D. 1577-8) for the eternal mansions, and was buried in A'zampūr. May God magnify his dignity!

XXI. MIYĀN VAJĪHU-'D-DĪN OF AḤMADĀBĀD.¹

He was descended² of the line of 'Alī, but he was not wont to proclaim his descent, on account of his being a foreigner.³ He was one of the greatest of the learned men of the age, excelling in devotion, piety, and holy endeavour,⁴ turning not aside from the path of the law, and, firmly seated in the corner of contentment, was constantly occupied in giving religious⁵ instruction. His grasp of all branches of knowledge, both of those which demand the exercise of the reasoning faculty and of those which depend upon the memory,⁶ was such that there was hardly a standard work, from light treatises on accidence⁷ to books of law and medicine and the commentary on the *Miftāḥ*⁸ and the '*Azūdī*'⁹

¹ The capital of Gujarāt.

² نسب. Both MSS. have نسبت, but the emendation in the text appears to be correct. If the reading of the MSS. be correct then we have an additional reason for the *Miyān's* refusal to claim descent from 'Alī. Vide the following note.

³ So I understand بیجهت غریب. The meaning seems to be that the *Shaiḫ's* ancestors had so long ago left Arabia that he wisely refrained from claiming a descent which was perhaps not borne out by documentary evidence and was not likely to be generally accepted. It may be that the *Miyān's* descent was in the female line, in which case he would not rank as a *Sayyid*.

⁴ MS. (B) has مجاهد for مجاهد. This is clearly a copyist's error.

⁵ دینی, in neither MS. I am not aware of the authority for its insertion in the text, but it seems to me to be correct.

⁶ علوم عقلي ونقلي. The Persian phrase cannot be neatly and concisely translated into English.

⁷ صرف هوایی. This expression has puzzled me and the translation is conjectural. I have consulted learned Persians and natives of India on the subject. Shamsn.-l-'Ulamā *Shaiḫ* Mahmūd-i-Gilānī suggests صرف نوائی, but I can learn of no book with this title. I am of opinion that the reading of the text and MSS. is certainly wrong.

⁸ *Miftāḥ*-l-'Ulūm (clavis doctrinarum). Vide Vol. I. (trans. Ranking), 428, note 2.

⁹ El-Adhodi, liber *Adhodi* grammaticus, quem Imām *Aḥu Ali* (Hasan Ben Ahmed) Fārisi Grammaticus, anno [377 (inc. 3. Mai. 987)] mortuus, principi *Adhod-ed-dewlet* composuit. H.K. 8158.

which he had not either written a commentary on or annotated, and the people were continually profited by his auspicious sayings, God, may He be praised, is known by his epithet, "the Healer," and He made the *Miṣṣān* a manifestation of that name, so that every day the sick and afflicted, in countless numbers,¹ used to wait upon him and beseech him to pray for them, and would speedily experience the effects of that prayer. He never went of his own accord to the houses of worldly men, but only once or twice in the course of his life, and then in obedience to a summons, and unwillingly.² He did not even leave³ his house and private *masjid* for the Friday congregational prayers.

His house was the resort of the greatest and best men of the age. In his dress and mode of life he was in no way distinguished from the common people, and contented himself with coarse raiment, distributing in charity whatever he received by way of alms.

He received his religious instruction from Shaiikh Muḥammad Ghaṣṣ⁴ and followed his rule, although he had been the accredited disciple of another. He completed his studies with the Shaiikh, drinking deeply and with relish of the fount of *Sūfī*-ism. 44.

When Shaiikh Muḥammad Ghaṣṣ went from Hindūstān to Gujarāt, in the reign of Sultān Maḥmūd of Gujarāt,⁵ Shaiikh 'Alī Mutaqqī,⁶ one of the greatest Shaiikhs, most influential religious leaders and greatest sages of that time, wrote a *fatwā*⁷

¹ The text has لا تعد ولا تحصى, making جمع feminine. The reading of the MSS. لا يعد ولا يحصى is correct.

² MS. (A) has و after اكره. The text (B) omit it.

³ نمانده.....قدم از. قدم is the reading of both MSS. and of the text. It does not make sense, and seems to me to be a copyist's error for ننهاد. As such I have treated it. MS. (B) has قدم for قدم. The latter is correct. The fact here stated is mentioned to shew the *Miṣṣān*'s great dislike of publicity. According to the Muḥammadan ritual law the Friday prayers should be recited in the congregation, i.e., in the public *masjid*.

⁴ No. III. *supra*.

⁵ I.e., during the reign of Shīr Shāh in Dillī. It was in consequence of Shīr Shāh's ill-treatment of him that Muḥammad Ghaṣṣ fled to Gujarāt. *Vide supra*, in the account of Muḥammad Ghaṣṣ, No. III.

⁶ MS. (B) wrongly reads منقي for منقي.

⁷ A legal decision delivered by a recognized doctor of the law on any point of the Muḥammadan ritual or religious law. The *fatwā* in this case would probably declare that Muḥammad Ghaṣṣ was worthy of death as a heretic, the execution of the sentence being left to the secular power.

for the execution of Shaikh Muḥammad Ḡhaṣṣ, and the Sultān abrogated it¹ at the instance² of Miyān Vajihu-'d-Din. When Miyān Vajihu-'d-Din went on the first occasion to the Shaikh's house he was powerfully attracted by his face, and tore up the *fatwā*,³ and Shaikh 'Alī came, beside himself (with rage), to the Miyān's house, and rent his clothes and said, "Why do you assent to the spread of heresy, and to a schism in the faith?"⁴ He answered, "We follow the letter and the Shaikh the spirit."⁵ Our understanding cannot reach his perfections and (even), as far as the letter of the law⁶ goes, no exception, by which he could be pronounced blameworthy, can be taken⁷ to him." And this was the cause of the great faith which the Sultāns and rulers of Gujarāt had in Shaikh Muḥammad Ḡhaṣṣ, and of his deliverance from that position of peril. (The Miyān) from that time repeatedly said in assemblies, "one ought to obey the letter of the law after the manner of Shaikh 'Alī Mutaqqī,⁸ and the spirit⁹ after the manner of my spiritual guide" (i.e., Shaikh Muḥammad Ḡhaṣṣ.) Miyān Vajihu-'d-Din passed away from this abode of gloom in the year H. 998 (A.D. 1589-90) and the words "Shaikh

¹ I.e., refused to carry it out.

² *Lit.* "on the signature of." Vajihu-'d-din probably delivered his authoritative opinion or *fatwā*, under his signature, declaring that Muḥammad Ḡhaṣṣ was not worthy of death.

³ This seems to be the meaning of استفتا, as here used, but the word means literally "applying for a *fatwā*," or "asking for legal opinion." The textual reading is evidently correct, though the readings of the MS. are not very clear.

⁴ MS. (B) inserts خود after دين, erroneously, as it seems to me.

⁵ *Lit.* "We are masters of speech (*scil.* religious discussion, or more probably recitation of the ritual prayers) and he is master of religious ecstasy." The translation well expresses the meaning of the phrase.

⁶ ظاهر شريعت.

⁷ نميگردد. (B) has, erroneously نميگردد.

⁸ MS. (B) omits متقي, and substitutes علي for علي. My opinion of this MS. coincides with that expressed by Colonel Ranking in some of the notes to his translation of vol. I. It is evidently the work of an ignorant and careless scribe and is of very little value for purposes of comparison.

⁹ در حقيقت.

Vajih-ud-Din" I never found to give the date of his death: may God turn him towards acceptance!

I may explain that I never had an opportunity of waiting on these four respectable men, and that what I have written of them is only what I have been able to learn incidentally.²

XXII. *Mutis 'Ariz'* in Nivari or Sirmur.

4

In company with the friends of Mir Sayyid Muḥammad (may God sanctify his soul!) who had ¹ set up a claim to being the *Mahdī* and ¹ had travelled to Gujarāt and the Dakhan, the *Miyān* at last adopted those opinions,² and in the reign of Salim Shāh, spent his time, in the manner already mentioned,³ in Biyāna, in the corner of obscurity and retirement, living without pretensions and without ceremony, being, like ordinary men, free from encumbrances and attachments. And when Islem (Salim) Shāh, as has been mentioned in the case of *Shaiḫ* 'Alā'ī of Biyāna—may God have mercy upon him!—bitterly persecuted him, being prompted thereto by Makhdūm-i-Mulk, and had him severely beaten, with a view to preventing him (from preaching his doctrines),⁴ he again set forth on his wanderings, travelling in various parts of the world, and in the latter years of his life he abandoned (his belief in Mir Sayyid Muḥammad's) claim to being the *Mahdī*, and, retreating⁵ into a corner of retirement in Sirhind, followed the same mode of life as other holy men. When the Emperor rebuilt that cell which was near the Imperial palace he named it the *'ibādat-khāna* (place of worship), and, the name of *Miyān* 'Abdu-'llāh being mentioned in connection with it, he was summoned from Sirhind, and had a personal interview with the Emperor, no other person being present, and

46. His Majesty put questions to him.⁶ The *Miyān*, disavowing (any belief in) the *Mahdāwī* doctrines, said, "At first the companionship of that sect seemed good to me, and I accordingly inclined to their doctrines, but after that the truth concerning

¹ The words *بود و* are wrongly omitted from MS. (B). This MS. also has *در گجرات* for *بکجرات*.

² I.e., the opinions of those who believed Mir Sayyid Muḥammad to be the *Mahdī*. The words are *همان طریقه*, for which MS. (B) has *همان طریقه*, which is pure nonsense.

³ Vide vol. I. (trans. Ranking), pp. 518-520 for an account of the persecution of *Miyān* (or *Shaiḫ*, as he is there called) 'Abdu-'llāh by Salim Shāh, at the instigation of Makhdūm-i-Mulk.

⁴ Vide the reference in the last note for an account of the persecution of the *Mahdāwī* by Salim Shāh.

⁵ Lit. "choosing."

⁶ *چیزها*. MS. (B) has *چیزها*. The dots in MS. (A) are placed at random, but the word there seems to be *چیزها*.

.He replied, "Between us and the heart lie a thousand stages. Why do you ask about this matter? Say something on ethics." Afterwards, *à propos* of the mention of Mir Sayyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr (may God sanctify his soul!) he brought forward an old Mughl and asked him to say what he knew of the Sayyid.¹ He said, "At the time of the death of the holy Mir Sayyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr I was present in Farāh,² when he

definition, s.v. **القلب**. "The heart is an enlightened incorporeal essence, the mean between the *rūḥ* and the *nafs*." The words **روح** (*rūḥ*) and **نفس** (*nafs*) both mean soul, and are sometimes considered synonymous one with the other. But according to other authorities **روح** signifies "that whereby is life" and **نفس** "that whereby is intellect, or reason," e.g., when one sleeps God takes away his **نفس**, but not his **روح**, which is not taken save at death; and the **نفس** is thus called because of its connection with the **نفس**, or "breath." (Vide Lane, Arabic Lexicon, sub *vocibus*). But it is not

clear that the connection between **نفس** and **نفس** is very close, for, if it were, one could hardly be deprived of his **نفس** during sleep. But see also the *Iṣṭilāḥāt*-'s-*Ṣūfiyyah* sub *vocibus* **النفس** and **الروح**. The former is thus defined:—

"*An-nafs* is the fine ethereal essence which supports life, sensation, and voluntary motion. And the philosopher (*scil.* Aristotle) has called it the animal soul, and it is the mean between the heart, which is the reasoning faculty, and the body, which is referred to in the *Qur'ān* as "the olive tree," which is described as being "blessed, neither of the east nor of the west," on account of the increase of dignity and blessedness which it confers on man, and because it is neither from the east, the world of disembodied spirits, nor from the west, the world of gross bodies."

الروح is thus described:—

"*Ar-rūḥ* in the technical language of the *Ṣūfis* is the fine and incorporeal part of man; and in the technical language of physicians it is the fine vapour bred in the heart, which receives the effect of life, sensation, and motion, and these collectively are called, in their technical language *an-nafs*, and the mean between them is the heart, which conceives general conceptions and their details. Philosophers make no distinction between *qalb* and *rūḥ*-*l-awwal* ("first soul") which they describe as the reasoning faculty." It is easy to understand Miṣbāḥ 'Abdu-llāh's anxiety to avoid the discussion of a question of this sort, and to take refuge in some ethical, or indeed, any other question, in order to escape from it.

1 از وی شهادت خواست. Lit. "asked him for his testimony."

2 A town in Sijistān, vide *Āin-i-Akbari* I. (trans. Blochmann), 41a. II. (trans. Jarrett), 393, and note.

withdrew his claim to being the *Mahdī*, and said, 'I am not the promised *Mahdī*.'"¹ God knows (the truth). In the meantime Maḥmūd *Khān* said softly "Miyān 'Abdu-'llāh did wonderfully well in sending the unfortunate *Shaiḫ* 'Alā'i to his death, while he himself retraced his steps."²

Miyān 'Abdu-'llāh removed the baggage (of existence) from this borrowed³ lodging to the neighbourhood of Divine Providence (may his dignity be honoured!) at the age of 90, in the year H. 1000 (A.D. 1591-2). May God grant him a dwelling in the highest heaven! 47.

XXIII. *SHAIKH ABŪ-'L-FATḤ OF GUJARĀT.*

He was the son-in-law of the reverend Mir Sayyid Muḥammad⁴ of Jaunpūr (may God sanctify his honoured tomb!), but he never saw the *Mīr*⁵ and his connection with him by marriage did not occur until after the *Mīr's* death. He was a man of very high position and dignity, endowed with perfections. He was firm and unshaken in his adherence to the doctrines of the *Mahdawī* sect, holding to them resolutely, since, when he was in the honoured city of Makkah and in Gujarāt, the closest bond of friendship existed between him and *Shaiḫ* Gadā'i.⁶ In the time of Bairām *Khān*, the *Khān-i-Khānān*,⁷ he came to Āgra in

1 Miyān 'Abdu-'llāh evidently brought forward this old *Mughal*, with his "testimony," to justify his secession from the *Mahdawī* sect, by proving that Mir Sayyid Muḥammad himself before his death relinquished his pretensions to being the *Mahdī*. Badāonī, who inclined towards the *Mahdawī* doctrines, seems by his use of the expression *والله اعلم* to have disbelieved the *Mughal's* testimony, or, at any rate, to have regarded it as doubtful. The necessity for some justification of Miyān 'Abdu-'llāh's change of views is shewn by Maḥmūd *Khān's* comment on his conduct, which immediately follows.

² *Lit.* "withdrew his steps from the circle."

³ *I.e.*, this lodging which is given us only for a time, or, as it were, on loan.

⁴ Here both MSS. have "Maḥmūd." The textual emendation is correct.

⁵ The text follows MS. (B) with *میرزا*. The reading of MS. (A) which I have followed, is correct. "*Mīr*" was one of M. Muḥammad's titles as a *Sayyid*. The title *Mīrā* is in India almost exclusively bestowed upon *Mughals*.

⁶ *Shaiḫ* Gadā'i-yi-Kambū of Dīlḥī, the Ṣadru-'s-Ṣudūr, *vide* vol. II. text, pp. 29, 30, et *infra* chapter ii., No. IV.

⁷ *Vide* vol. II. text, *Āin-i-Akbarī*, and *Akhbarnāma passim*.

connection with some important business, but in a short time that terrible disaster¹ occurred, and the Shaiikh returned to Gujarāt. When I was a student I waited on the Shaiikh for half a night in the quarter of Shaiikh Bahā'u-'d-dīn Muftī (may God have mercy on him!), on the far side² of the river at Āgra, on the introduction of Maulānā 'Abdu-'llāh of Qandahār, the relative of Hāji Mahdi of Lāhōr. He was sitting alone in a bare room, busily employed in reading³ this tradition of the prophet, (may God bless him and save him!):—"No number of people shall sit together to mention God but that angels shall surround them, and the mercy of God cover them, and tranquillity⁴ come upon them; and God remembers them as men who are with Him." He translated that saying and I received instruction in the ecstatic worship of the Sūfis,⁵ and was employed for some time therein, and experienced a wonderful and⁶ strange accession of divine grace, and the (inner) meaning of the Qur'ān was disclosed to me, and for some time⁷ my condition was such that I believed every sound and voice which fell upon my ears to be the mystic chanting of the Sūfis. I saw some of the Shaiikh's

¹ I.e., Bairām Khān's dismissal, his estrangement from the Emperor, rebellion, and violent death.

² I.e., the east side of the river, the far side from the city of Āgra.

³ MS. (A) omits خواند.

⁴ The word used here is مَكِينَةٌ from the root مَكَنَ ("it was, or became still, motionless or stationary"). The meaning of مَكِينَةٌ is given by Lane

(*Ar. Lex. s. v.*) as "calmness or tranquillity, gravity, staidness, steadiness, or sedateness," and, "a quality inspiring reverence or veneration." Its meaning in Arabic is thus quite clear. But its etymology calls to mind the Hebrew מְבִינָה (praesens Dei Majestas, as Gesenius gives it). This Hebrew word is Rabbinical, not Biblical. The Arabic word مَكِينَةٌ is used to translate the Hebrew מְבִינָה, but has not, in Arabic, the same meaning. It is possible that Muḥammad, in using the word, if he did so, may have had some Rabbinical tradition in his mind.

⁵ ذِكْر. Vide Hughes' Dict. of Islām, s. v. zikr.

⁶ MS. (B) has و between عَجِيب and غَرِيب. The text and MS. (A) omit it. The sense is not affected either way.

⁷ چندانگه (MS. (A) and text). چندانگه MS. (B).

disciples who, to guard themselves from talking foolishly,¹ had (literally) glued their lips together, some of them (for the same reason) had pebbles in their mouths.

The year of the Shāikh's death, and where and when it occurred, are not known. (May God remember him to his good !)

XXIV. SHAYKH AḤMAD ISMĀʿĪL OR LĀNĪH.

48.

He was one of the spiritual successors of Miyān Shāikh Dā'ūd,² (may God sanctify his tomb !). In his activity (in traversing the path of righteousness) he surpassed all his contemporaries, and he was one of the most wonderful works of God : (be He praised !). In his love for his spiritual guide he was beside himself, and attained to such an intimate relationship with his holy personality that one might say that the two persons were one clear truth expressed³ in two well turned phrases. Neither the dust of dependent existence nor the soil of potential existence⁴ besmirched the skirt of his robe, and at the mere sight of him thoughts of God (may He be honoured and glorified !) cast their rays on each black and thoughtless heart, and the pain of searching after God infected all who saw him. He called no⁵ one to his presence with the exception of two or three friends who had been intimate associates⁶ of the holy Miyān (may God sanctify his soul !) and

1 بحال بعني.

2 File No. XVII. sup'd.

3 Lit. "He was a miracle (or sign) of the miracles (or signs) of God."

4 در پندۀ text and MS. (B). در پندۀ MS. (A).

5 The two words in the text are احداث and امکان. Lane (*Arabic-English*

Lexicon, s. v.) thus defines احداث :—"احداث is of two kinds احداث زمني, which is

which is A thing's being preceded by non-existence: and احداث ذاتي, which is

A thing's being dependent on another for its existence." The word in this passage has the latter meaning. امکان means "contingent, or potential existence," i.e., as opposed either to وجوب, "necessary existence" or وجود, "actual existence." The meaning of the passage is that the Shāikh employed himself with none but God, the self-existent and necessarily existent Being.

6 نمي خليليد MS. (B) wrongly omits نمي.

7 همرا و همزبان (text). The MSS. omit و.

who had their dwelling in Lāhōr; nor was he solicitous to receive disciples. He always lived in privacy in a dark cell, which was situated in a garden, and at times, when an intense longing for the holy *Miyān* overcame him he would go on foot in one day from Lāhōr to *Shirgarh*, a distance of over forty *kurūh*,¹ and after merely kissing the *Miyān's* threshold he would return, without breaking his journey, unable to endure the effulgence of the *Miyān's* luminous presence.²

In the year already mentioned ³ I was honoured by being enabled to pay my respects to that venerable and most worthy man, and was his guest for a day and a night. On the next day, I set out alone, save for one attendant on foot,⁴ when the disturbances were at their height, for *Shirgarh*. I was stopped by *Jāts*⁵ and highwaymen, who surrounded me on every side, and they were astonished (at my rashness) and asked me whither I was going, alone in this perilous desert. So soon as I said that I had just taken my leave of *Miyān Shaikh Abū Ishāq* with a view of paying my respects to my reverend spiritual guide, the *Miyān* (may God
49. have mercy on them both!) they, immediately they heard the auspicious names of those two holy men, submitted themselves to me, and brought me milk and curds and such like refreshments, and set me on my way, and warned me to be cautious and wary,

¹ I.e., about 80 miles.

² In the original this passage runs as follows:—

و گاه گاهی که شوق حضرت میان (گریبان گیر او میگشت از لاهور یک روز در شیرگده که بمسافت چهل کروزه زیاده است پیاده میرفت و آستان بوسیده بهمان پای باز میگشت و تاب نسیلی دیدار پوانوار حضرت میان نداشت -

The portion between the brackets has been carelessly omitted from MS. (B) the copyist having evidently mistaken the words حضرت میان just before the brackets for the same words repeated at the end of the bracketed portion. An absurd *non sequitur* is the result of this careless error.

³ Vide *supra* in the life of *Shaikh Dā'ūd* (XVI.) p. 56, n. 4.

⁴ Lit. "Alone with one attendant on foot." The *جلودار* ran beside the horse of the person whom he attended.

⁵ چتان text. چتان (?) MS. (A). حتان MS. (B). The tribe referred to must, I think, be the *Jāts* whose name would be properly spelt جات (pl. جاتان) in the Persian character. Vide Sherring, "Hindu Tribes and Castes" II. 73.

urging me to make frequent mention of the name of the holy *Miyān* in my religious exercises,¹ as he had endeared himself to all the people of that country, both gentle and simple. Thus, at last, I returned in safety² to the place whither I was bound, as has been already stated.³

In the year in which the holy *Miyān* removed the pavilion (of his existence) from this transitory world and pitched it in the kingdom of eternity, and very shortly after his death, there was a plague in the Panjāb; and all his associates,⁴ his family, and his most noted spiritual successors and representatives, who numbered fifty or⁵ sixty souls, perfect and perfected, among whom was "the interpreter of secrets," *Miyān 'Abdu-'l-Wahhāb*, also known as *Miyān Bābū*, with one accord, as though by appointment, successively and each in his due turn, joined the holy *Miyān* (in the next world) in the space of three or four months, as it pleased God. (This was the case of those intimately connected with him), but what shall I say of his sincere pupils disciples, and attendants at large? *Miyān Shaikh Abū Ishāq*, too, owing to the greater intimacy of his connection with the

1 ذكروا نام حضرت میاں. *Zikr* has been already described. The highwaymen apparently urged *Badāonī* to recite the name of *Shaikh Dā'ūd* in his *zikr*, an exercise in which only the names and attributes of God should be recited. The passage exemplifies the superstitious veneration with which ignorant Indian Muslims regard their *pīrs*, and gives some colour to the charge brought against *Shaikh Dā'ūd* by *Makhdūm-'l-Mulk*, that he permitted his disciples to introduce his name into their *zikr*, they crying out "*Yā Dā'ūd, yā Dā'ūd!*" *Shaikh Dā'ūd* very dexterously repelled the charge (*vide suprā* p. 53), but from the request here made by the robbers it is almost certain that the practice was common among the *Shaikh's* followers, even if it was not approved by him. ورد *Wird* is a portion of the *Qur'ān* set or imposed for recital on a particular occasion, or at a particular time. It seems that the name of the *Shaikh* was to be introduced into these passages from the *Qur'ān*, or it may be that they were to be recited in the *Shaikh's* name.

2 بعایت wrongly omitted from MS. (B).

3 *vide suprā*, in the life of *Shaikh Dā'ūd* (No. XVI), pp. 56-60.

4 جميع اصحاب اهل بيت (text). The MSS. insert و between اصحاب and اهل بيت. The careless omission of the conjunction in the text would give the passage a very unpleasant sound to an Eastern ear.

5 MS. (B) wrongly inserts و here.

Miyān, sped from the desert of separation to the true *Ka'bah*¹ of union and propinquity. "Some of them have fulfilled their vow and others of them await its fulfilment."² Ah, *Khāja*, it may be

"That thou preparest a cup³ for them."

He who afterwards continued the exalted line of the *Qādiriyyah*⁴ order was *Shaiḫ* 'Abdu-'llāh, the most orthodox and noble son of the holy *Miyān*, who, since the latter removed the baggage (of his existence) to the garden of *Rizwān*,⁵ remains at present the compendium of all the perfections⁶ and the successor to all the exalted qualities of *Miyān Shaiḫ* Abū-'l-Ma'ālī.⁷

The peace of God, so long as nights succeed one another,
Be on the pure *Shaiḫ*, Abū-'l-Ma'ālī.

It is to be hoped that this garden of good fortune will aye remain fruitful—through the prophet and his honoured family.

50. XXV. *SHAIKH RUKNU-'D-DIN.*
(May God have mercy on him !)

He is the orthodox son of *Shaiḫ* 'Abdu-'l-Quddūs of Gangū, whose distinguished virtues and perfections are beyond the need of any comment or exposition, being sufficiently indicated and

¹ "The cube-like building in the centre of the mosque at Makkah, which contains the *Hajaru-'l-Aswad*, or black stone." Hughes' *Dict. of Islām*. The word is frequently used metaphorically, as in this passage, for any object of desire, or reward at a journey's end, the simile being the toilsome desert journey of the Makkah pilgrims, with the *Ka'bah* for its object.

² *Qur'ān* xxxiii. 23.

مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ رِجَالٌ صَدَقُوا مَا عَاهَدُوا اللَّهَ عَلَيْهِ فَمِنْهُمْ مَّنْ قَضَىٰ نَجْبَةً
وَمِنْهُمْ مَّنْ يَنْتَظِرُ وَمَا بَدَّلُوا تَبْدِيلًا .

"Some there were among the faithful who made good what they have promised to God. Some have fulfilled their vow and others await its fulfilment, and have in no way changed."

³ Of the wine of paradise.

⁴ The order founded by *Shaiḫ* Dā'ūd and described (p. 52), as being midway between the *Sahrawardī* and *Cizhtī* orders.

⁵ i.e., "paradise." *Rizwān* is the keeper of the garden of paradise.

⁶ *Lit.* "the gatherer together of all the perfections."

⁷ *Shaiḫ* Dā'ūd.

signified by the holy writings which he has compiled. Gangū is a *pargana* town¹ in² the confines of Thānesar.

The *Shāikh* was a man greatly respected, whose outward appearance bore witness to his perfections. He was a man of great authority in the mysticism of the *Sūfis*, and followed the religious rule of the holy men of his own order, and³ was one of those who are overcome by a mysterious longing after God and are subject to fits of religious ecstasy.⁴

He went⁵ occasionally, but very seldom, to the houses of men of worldly position and rank, and never but when in need. Otherwise he remained constantly in the corner of retirement and abstraction. I, the compiler of these pages, paid my respects to him in Dihli, at the time of Bairam Khān's rebellion,⁶ in one of the assemblies of Shāikh 'Abdu-l-'Aziz (may God have mercy on him!). Praise be to God (therefor).

XXVI. MIRĀS MUṢṬAFĪ OF GUJARĀT.

His descent was from the Boharas,⁷ a tribe in Gujarāt whose occupation is trading. By means of one of the intimate friends of Mir Sayyid Muḥammad of Jaunpur (may God sanctify his soul!) he constantly followed the path of poverty and self-effacement, walking steadfastly in that way to the end of his life. When the *Khalīfah* of the age, after the conquest of the country of Bang,⁸ reached Ajmir on his return from

¹ *Bāḥiṭi* means "near Thānesar." Thānesar was a *pargana* town in the *Sirhind* circle, while Gangūh was a *pargana* town in the adjoining circle of *Sāḥiānpur*. *Asar-ul-Illah* II. (trans. Jarrett), 261.

² *در* text and MS. (B). MS. (A) has *في*.

³ *و* is omitted from the MSS. but seems to be rightly supplied in the text.

⁴ *في اوياب ذوق وحل بود*. The *Sūfistic* technical terms *ذوق* and *حل* have already been explained.

⁵ *رفتني* carelessly omitted from MS. (B).

⁶ *در زمان فترت بيرم خان*. Vide vol. II. text, pp. 35 *et seqq.*, and *Albar-nāma* (text) II., 91-121.

⁷ The Boharas are a tribe of Musalmāns in the Bombay Presidency, Bernar, and parts of the Panjab. They are *Shā'its* by religion. Sir George Campbell is of opinion that they are a cross between immigrants from the Persian Gulf and "Hindu Bohras." Vide Sherring, "Hindu Castes and Tribes" II, 163, 184. The Boharas throughout India numbered 129,473 in 1881.

⁸ i.e., Bengal.

Patna,¹ Āṣaf Khān II, the Mir Bakhshī, in obedience to the Imperial order, brought him with him from Gujarāt. The Emperor, calling the 'Ulamā together one night in the courtyard of the Hall of Audience, questioned Shaiikh Muṣṭafā on the truth about the *Mahdawī* question, and he readily answered, and the discussion 51. was prolonged; and Hājī Ibrāhīm of Sirhind,² in accordance with his vile disposition, was overbearing in the argument, and vexed the Shaiikh; and I also related circumstantially and at length what I had found in the commentary on the *Gulshan-i-Rāz*,³ a work by Shaiikh Muḥammad-al-Ahji, who was the immediate⁴ disciple of Mir Sayyid Muḥammad-i-Nūr Bakhshī,⁵ who also, in his time, had set up a claim to being the *Mahdī*, and had brought various troubles on himself thereby. Since what I said was opposed to the Shaiikh's contention it was evidently the cause of

¹ Vol. II. (text), 185. *Akbarnāma* (text) II., 79. Badā'oni places this event in A.H. 982 (A.D. 1574-5). Abū-'l-Faẓl places it in A.H. 981 (A.D. 1573-4). The MSS. spell Patna, پٹنہ, after the Persian style. In the text it is Indianized into पटना.

² Vide vol. II. (text), pp. 172, 173. The passage is reproduced in the short life of Badā'oni prefixed to this volume.

³ *Gulshenī rāz*, rosarium arcanorum. Carmen persicum, quod ita incipit: Nomine ejus, qui animam cogitare docuit—

et quaestiones et responsa continet secundum terminologiam theosophicam. Ad ejus similitudinem carmen *Azhār-el-gulshen* compositum est. Auctor Rosarii est *Sheikh Mahmud Tebrizi* qui in vico Shebister natus et sepultus est, qui locus octo parasangas a Tebriz distat. Commentarios in carmen scripserunt *Motazaffer-ed-Din Ali Shirazi*—*Sheikh Shems-ed-din Mohammed Ben Yahya Ben Ali Ahji Jilāni Nūrbakhshi*, anno mortuus, cujus commentarius persico scriptus textum admixtum habet, et *Mefātiḥ el-i'jāz* inscriptus est. Nitido cum exscripsit mense Dzu-'l-hijjet anni 877 (inc. 8. Jan. 1472). Hājī *Khalifah*, 10839.

The commentary of Shaiikh *Shamsu-'d-dīn* is the book referred to. He is described in the text and MSS. as لا هجي (Lāhji), an error for لا هجي (Al-Ahji).

The *Gulshan-i-Rāz* has been translated into English by Mr. Whinsfield.

⁴ The text has بواسطة which, as explained in a footnote to the text, is the reading of both MSS. I think that we should substitute بمرتبة, and have translated accordingly. If, however, the reading of the MSS. be correct we might translate "he was the disciple, with one intermediary, of, &c.," but the expression is awkward and unidiomatic.

⁵ Of *Badakhshān*. A disciple of Abū Inshāq-i-Khatlānī who gained numerous adherents and created such disturbances that troops were sent

his being vexed with me. The Emperor ordered the *Shaiikh*, after his arrival at Pāthpūr, to stay for some days in the house of Khāja 'Abdu-ḥ-Samad the painter, of sweet pen.¹ To make amends for my fault I waited on him with my apologies, and asked him for forgiveness. He was very feeble, and in that very assembly a basin was brought to him, and he brought up a great quantity of blood. It seems that after he received leave to depart for Gujarāt he removed the baggage (of existence) from this transitory lodging to the eternal abode, either on his way to his native land or immediately after his arrival there. This event took place in the year H. 983 (A.D. 1575-6). He is the author of works which bear witness to his separation from the world and self-effacement.² May God deal with him according to His graciousness.

XXVII. *SHAIKH* IṢHĀQ-I-KĀKŪ OF LĀHŌR.³

His father's name was *Shaiikh* Kākū, and the people of Lāhōr believe him to have been a saint.⁴ He (*Shaiikh* Iṣhāq) was a profoundly learned man, resigned to God and abstinent. He never went to the houses of worldly men or begged from them. He was always teaching, and was a compendium of all branches of knowledge. He was a *Ṣūfī* by religion and was ever employed with the Truth (God).⁵ He would not speak unless questions were put to him. One day he met in the road a contemptible wretch who gave to him an earthen pot full of rice and milk, saying, "Take this and come with me." Without any objection or refusal he took it on his head and passed through the market-place until he came to the place where the man lodged, and from

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against him. He was defeated and fled to 'Irāq, in the mountainous districts of which country he is said to have gained thirty thousand followers. He had often to fight with the governors but defied them all. *Āin-i-Akbarī* I. (trans. Blochmann) introduction, p. iv. note.

¹ شیرین قلم. Vide *Āin-i-Akbarī* vol. I. (trans. Blochmann), p. 107.

² Lit. "From which arises the odour of exile and effacement," the "exile" referring to the *Shaiikh's* belief that he was but a sojourner in this world.

³ *Āin-i-Akbarī* I. (trans. Blochmann), p. 545.

⁴ Lit. "Have a belief in his saintship" (ولایت). A *ṣalī* (ولی) is "one who is very near," i.e., to God. Hughes' *Dict. of Islam* s. v. Both MSS. have دارند for دارند. The emendation in the text is correct.

⁵ حق a *Ṣūfī*-istic term for God.

that day forth his heart was washed clean from the guile of pride, and he was also distinguished among those learned in profane knowledge.¹ In the course of the year .995 (A.D. 1587) I had the honour of waiting on that reverend man, and one day I told this story, in some connection or another, to Shaiikh F'niẓī,² who shortly afterwards received the title of *Maliku-'sh-Shu'arā*³ and he, according to his habit, which was to decry⁴ all holy men,⁵ past and present, and to exalt himself, began scoffingly to belittle the Shaiikh, while I remained silent. I cannot say whether it was that night or some other night that I saw in a dream that Shaiikh Abū-'l-Faẓl had alighted in a plain, in an old ruin which had no more than two or three⁶ walls standing. Shaiikh Ishāq was standing in the company of gunners, with a musket in his hand, just as though it were the night of the new moon and the usual custom in the Royal Court of firing off guns on the occasion were being observed. He took aim at me and fired, and the sparks fell all round me and in front of me, and⁷ I awoke, terrified. The next day I took an offering to the Shaiikh and it was honoured with his acceptance, and I told him what had happened to me.⁸

Owing to his great age he had lost the power of speech, but he used to raise his hand and recite the *Fātiḥah*, praise be to God! He was the instructor of most of the famous learned men of Lāhōr, such as Shaiikh Sa'du-'llāh, who had no rival⁹ in his time, and Shaiikh Munavvar and others.

¹ Or perhaps, "he was distinguished from those learned in secular knowledge," i.e., by his humility.

² The brother of Abū-'l-Faẓl.

³ "King of Poets," the title commonly given to the poet laureate in Muḥammadan Courts.

⁴ نفى. The text wrongly has نفى with the hamzah.

⁵ The MSS. have مشائخ كبار. The text omits كبار.

⁶ دروس. MS. (B) has دروسر, which is nonsense.

⁷ و, supplied in the text, though it appears in neither MS.

⁸ Badā'oni evidently regarded the vision as a punishment for not having defended the Shaiikh when he was attacked by Faiẓī. In this passage MS. (B) wrongly omits گفتن. I have already expressed my opinion of this MS.

⁹ قرينه lit. "an annlogy," something which bears a resemblance to something else.

In his youth the Shaiikh was inclined mostly to sport,¹ and took his delight therein, so that whenever he had leisure from study he would take his falcon and hawk and would go out hawking, traversing the ground on foot.

His venerable age exceeded one hundred years when, in the year H. 925 (A.D. 1588), he hastened away to the close companionship² of God. 53.

XXVIII. SAINT SAINT-JOHN BAY ISRA'IL

her, a party of *muhtasibs*,¹ together with the students who were his disciples, banded together and entered his house by climbing over the wall, with a view of bringing him to a proper frame of mind,² and, breaking all the appurtenances of unlawful and forbidden amusements³ (which they found), wished to subject him to punishment.⁴ He repeated what was said (on one occasion) to the second true *Khalifah*,⁵ the Prince of the true believers, 'Umar (may God be gratified with him!). "If I have committed one unlawful act you have been guilty of three unlawful acts, and are the more deserving of punishment, for that, in order to spy upon me, and without my permission, you entered my house by climbing over the wall."⁶ The party, ashamed and abashed, left him. Afterwards, being enabled by God's grace to repent sincerely, he modelled his life on the book *Ihyā*,⁷ and passed his time in worship and austerities, and composed

54. many profitable and sublime books, among them being a commentary on the *Jawāhiru-'l-Qur'ān*⁸ by Imām *Ghazzālī* (may God have mercy upon him!).

1 Police officers appointed to prevent drinking, gambling and other offences against the moral law.

2 بجهت إصلاح حال او "for the purpose of remedying his condition."

3 آلات ملاهي و مناهي "the instruments of wanton amusements and of pastimes prohibited by the sacred law," i. e., such things as dice, drinking-cups, wine vessels, and instruments of music.

4 تعزير "Censuring," or "inflicting stripes below the full number allowed by law." It does not appear whether the *Shaiikh* was to have been flogged or merely rebuked.

5 بخليفة ثاني حقاني Here Badāoni stontly asserts himself as a *Sunnī*.

6 The three unlawful acts were (1) spying upon a Muslim, (2) entering the house without asking the owner's permission, and (3) entering the house as thieves, by climbing over the wall. The privacy of dwelling is established by the teaching of Muḥammad, and it is unlawful to enter a house without *استئذان*, or asking permission. Vide *Qur'ān* xxiv. 27-29.

7 احياء علوم الدين vide *supra*, p. 29, n. 2.

8 *Jewāhir El-Coran*, gemmae Corani, auctore Imām *Hojjet-el-Islām*, *Atā Hāmid Mohammed Ben Mohammed Ghazālī Tūsi*, anno 505 (inc. 10 Jul. 1111) mortuo. Libram divisum esse commemorat in doctrinas et actiones, has esse exteriores et interiores, interiores autem distributas esse in purificationem et sui ipsius alienationem, ut quatuor sint genera doctrinarum, exteriores dico et interiores, et vituperatione et laude dignas. Singula genera

When the *Khalifah* of the age summoned him to a private interview he asked him, "of what race are you?" and he replied, "of the tribe of the scribes, who are called in the Hindi tongue, *Kāyats*." ¹ The Emperor was much pleased with this unassuming answer and held a long conversation with him. I waited on him for the first time in Lāhōr and in some connection or another he made mention of the question of the decay of Multān and the prosperity of Lāhōr, and the matter of the *Sulṭāns* of the Langāh family, especially Sulṭān Ḥusain, ² speaking on these subjects in such a manner that I was astonished at the manner in which he acquitted himself, and at the elegance and polish of his style. Rarely have I heard such sweetness of diction.

He never left a beggar disappointed, and although he had no concern with commerce or husbandry, and was not in enjoyment of a subsistence allowance from the Emperor, his resources and expenditure on alms and charity were such that nobody knew

ad decem principia redeunt, totum autem selectissimam Corani partem continet." *Hujī Khalifah* No. 4293. No mention is made of the commentary composed by the *Shaikh*.

¹ The *Kāyats* or *Kāyasths*, the great caste among the Hindus whose occupation is writing. They numbered in 1881 two and a quarter millions. From the *Shaikh's* cognomen it might be supposed that he was of Jewish or Afghān descent, as was perhaps the case. His forbears may have been employed as scribes, and it is possible that the *Shaikh*, without being a Hindu by descent, was sufficiently politic to humour Akbar's predilection for Hindus, by naively confessing to a Hindu ancestry, and to refrain from proudly claiming a foreign descent, as a bigoted Muslim would probably have done. It is for this reason that Badāonī describes his answer as "unassuming." Or the *Shaikh* may, perhaps, have been descended from *Kāyasths* on the mother's side, and made the most of the fact in order to humour the Emperor.

² The Langāh dynasty reigned in Multān from A.D. 1443 to A.D. 1524. *Shaikh* Yūsuf, the first of the line, established an independent monarchy in Multān in the former year. In the latter year Sulṭān Ḥusain Langāh II., the last of the line was overcome by Shāh Ḥusain Arghūn, the ruler of Sindh, who acknowledged the suzerainty of Bābar, and afterwards of Humāyūn, from whom, however, he withdrew his allegiance when Shēr Shāh overcame him. When Humāyūn fled to Sindh Shāh Ḥusain received his ambassadors not discourteously, but refused to assist him in any way. He subsequently drove Humāyūn from Sindh. *Āin-i-Akbarī* II. (trans. Jarrett), 334-336, and "The Indus Delta Country," by Major-General M. R. Haig, 89-92.

whence he derived his means,¹ and the people were perplexed on this subject.²

On reaching the age of about eighty years he passed away from this illusory world, and great and small, in their thousands, nay more, accompanied ³ his funeral, taking up his pure bier on their heads and shoulders, with a view to obtaining blessings by so doing,⁴ (and the crowd was so great that) there was not room to plant one's foot.

XXIX. MIYÂN SHAIKH 'ABDU-'LLĀH OF BADĀKH.

He was one of the benefits of the age and the blessings of the epoch. In early youth he was learning a lesson from the *Būstān*, and came to this couplet :—

"In the way of purity it is impossible, O Sa'di,
"To travel, except by following the Chosen One,"⁵

(may God bless and save him !). He asked his teacher, "What is the meaning of this couplet ? Explain it to me in Hindi." His
55. teacher said "What business have you with this story⁶ ?" He replied "Until you thoroughly explain it to me I will not learn another⁷ lesson." When the meaning of it had been explained he said "Give me an account of Muḥammad, "the Chosen" (may God bless and save him !) and tell me who he is." The teacher described to him some of the noble qualities and wondrous works of his holiness (may God bless him and save him), and, as soon as he heard the description, the mystic attrac-

¹ *Lit.* "Nobody knew whence all these resources, expenditure, and disbursements were."

² درین امر. MS. (B) carelessly omits درین.

³ به تشیع جنازه رفتہ, text and MSS. The word should be تشیع, the reading in the text is nonsense, and is due apparently to the unaccountable antipathy of Indian scholars to the repetition of the letter ی in words of this measure, such as تمیز and تغیر, which they write تمیز and تغیر.

⁴ به تبرک.

⁵ The concluding couplet of the introduction to the *Būstān*. The couplet commences here محالست. The better reading is مپندار. The chosen one (مصطفی) is, of course, Muḥammad.

⁶ حکایت, in neither MS.

⁷ پیشتر in the text. Both MSS. have, correctly, بیشتر, and so I have translated.

tion of the Lord seized on him, and, rending his shirt, he uttered the creed of Islām.¹ When his parents heard of this they recognized that he had declared himself free of them and renounced them,² and could not properly return to their care, so that they, of necessity, relinquished all claim to him, and he, journeying from Sāmāna,³ the home of his ancestors, employed himself in reading the *Qur'ān*, in making himself acquainted with God's commands, and in the pursuit of knowledge. At last, joining himself to a band of famous sages and great saints he became one of the greatest sages of the age, and placing his hand in the hand of Miṣyān Shāikh 'Abdu-'l-Bāqī-yi-Cishti of Badāon (may God give rest to his soul!) he became his disciple, and received instruction from him in the mystic worship of the *Ṣūfis*. Subsequently he attended upon Shāikh Ṣafi of Khairābād⁴ (may God sanctify his honoured tomb!) and others, and, employing himself in austerities and in striving after holiness, attained perfection. He acquired the blessing of knowledge from most of the noted masters⁵ of his time, especially from Miṣyān Shāikh Lādan⁶ of Dihli and from Mir Sayyid Jalāl of Badāon, and after the death of the latter, whose sins are forgiven, he became his successor and taught and imparted instruction for many years in Badāon, and many well-known sages, who have become famous, sat at his feet. People from the surrounding country and from the utmost parts of (other) countries by waiting upon him attain eternal felicity.

Latterly the mysterious attraction of God has overpowered him, and he appears at meetings for ecstatic singing and dancing,⁷

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُوْلُهُ ﷺ كَلِمَةُ طَيِّبَةٌ ۱

"there is no god but God, and Muḥammad is the apostle of God."

۲ او ابرا و تبروا از ایشان نمود۲ MS. (B) omits او. The meaning of this passage is that as the boy had devoted himself to the religious life his parents relinquished their control over him and handed him over to his religious instructors.

³ A *pargana* town in the *sarkār* of Sirhind, *Ṣūba* of Dihli.

⁴ Chief town of a *Sarkār* of the same name in the *Ṣūba* of Awadh.

⁵ معتقدایان *lit.* "those who are followed." ⁶ MS. (B) has لادی.

⁷ مجلس سماع. The ecstatic "worship" of the *Ṣūfis* has already been briefly described. Some of the performances are here described.

and from the excessive influence of his longing and desire after
 56. God¹ he utters soul-melting cries and heart-searing shrieks and falls² a-trembling, and advances some paces, though there be at the time no ecstatic dance in progress, and crying out, at the same time, the *lā ḥaul*³ he returns to his place and remains standing there.

His unceremoniousness and unpretentiousness are such that he goes on foot, like his predecessors and successors, to the shop and to the market to buy household goods, whether in small or large quantities, and to purchase all necessary supplies for his kitchen, which he may need, and carries them back to where he dwells. On the way, too, he teaches a number of his students, and howsoever much they may say "Master, there is no need for you to trouble yourself in this way, we will perform this duty,"⁴ he does not consent thereto. His auspicious appearance bears witness to his poverty and self-effacement, and, notwithstanding his having received permission to impart religious instruction, and documents appointing him a recognized deputy from (various) holy men, he is not devoted to the usual system of *Shaiḫs* and their disciples,⁵ but on the contrary, carefully avoids it. Clad in the garb of holy men and the vesture of religious leaders he remained cloaked and concealed in his robe.⁶

When I was reading, under his instruction, the commentary on the *Ṣaḥā'if fi'l-Kalām*⁷ and the *Tahqīq fi uṣūli'l-*

¹ از شدت غلبه شوق. Both MSS. add و ذوق. The words have been carelessly omitted from the text.

² Both MSS. have میفرمایند, the respectful plural. The text has the singular.

³ The formula لَا حَوْلَ وَلَا قُوَّةَ إِلَّا بِاللَّهِ, "there is no power or strength but in God."

⁴ I.e., the day's marketing.

⁵ مقید به شیخی و مریدی نیست lit. "he is not devoted to *shaiḫ*-ship and discipleship," i.e., the system by which a recognized *Shaiḫ* authorized his disciples to teach, and constituted them his spiritual successors.

⁶ قبا "a kind of tunic, generally reaching to the middle of the shank, divided down the front and made to lap over the chest." Lane, *Arabic Lexicon* s. v. vide also Dozy, *Dictionnaire des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes*, pp. 352-362.

⁷ "El-Saḥā'if fi el-Kalām, folia de metaphysica, quæ ita incipiunt; *Laus Deo existentia et unitate digno*, etc., et in præfationem sex folia, et conclu-

figh,¹ notwithstanding that a class of pupils² of copious attainments and students of clear intellect were also engaged in study, and brought subtil difficulties for his elucidation, I never saw him, in the course of his teaching, to be under the necessity of referring to a book for the purpose of solving those questions and obscure subtilties, for whatever he had once seen he had on the tip of his tongue, and he had acquired³ the habit of great readiness, being assisted thereto by God.⁴ He is now in his ninetieth year, and will, please God, who is honoured, attain to the natural limit of man's age.

XXX. SHAIKH JALĀLU-'D-DĪN OF QANNAUJ.⁵

He was a man mysteriously attracted to God and walking in the way of the law.⁶ His ancestors came from Multān, and settled in Qannauj, an old and famous city of Hindūstān. After devoting himself to the carrying out of the religious obligations imposed on devout Muslims he experienced a

sionem distributa sunt. In ejus commentariis numeratur liber *El-Mearif fi Sharh El-Sahāif* inscriptus, qui ita incipit; *Laus Deo cujus existentiae nullus est terminus*, etc. Auctor, quem *Samarcandī* esse puto, formula usus est, "dicit auctor," et, "dico ego." Pariter *Behishti* commentarium edidit." *Hājī Khalīfa*, 7718. It was probably one of the two commentaries referred to that Badāonī read.

¹ The book referred to was probably that described by *Hājī Khalīfa*, No. 2715:—"El-Tahckic, expositio accurata. Commentarius operis *Muntekhab* de principiis, de quo litera *Mim* videatur." It may, however, have been the following (H. K. No. 2720) "El-Tahckic, accurata expositio, auctore Imam *Mohyi-ed-din Yahya Ben Sheref Nizari*." Badāonī gives the names of these books in Persian. For convenience' sake I have given them their original Arabic titles.

² مسترشدان *lit.* "those who seek for religious guidance or instruction." MS. (B) has مرشدان. Probably the word مسترشدان was too much for the copyist.

³ حاصل گردیده MS. (A) has حاصل کرده.

⁴ MS. (B) omits الله.

⁵ The ancient city of Qannauj, (Sans. *Kānya-kubja*), in early Hindu times one of the principal centres of Aryan civilization in India. It was in Badāonī's time the chief town of the *sarkār* of the same name in the *Ṣūba* of Āgra. It is now a *Tahsil* town in the Farrukhābād District, N.-W.P. Vide Cunningham, "Ancient Geography of India," 376-382.

⁶ سالک. It has already been observed that the fact of a *Ṣūfī*, one who has experienced جذب, i.e., has been mysteriously drawn to God, condescend-

57. mysterious attraction to God, but none the less¹ left no jot or tittle of the pure law unobserved. At times, when overcome by religious ecstasy, he would blacken his face and, hanging the string of a bodstead round his neck, and would wander through the market-places uttering doleful and mournful cries; and he had many unusual observances such as these. One day, when he had completed the Friday prayers in the *Masjid-i-Huyy*, I waited on him. He got up and went to visit the old obliterated tombs of his noble ancestors, which were in the courtyard of the *masjid*, and at each² grave he recited the *fātiḥah*,³ and told⁴ one of his attendants who conversed with him the story of the life of the occupant of the grave, and after telling separately the stories of each of those holy men, he fell into a reverie, and when his reverie was over he put to that attendant a question from the *Farā'iz*.⁵ The attendant replied, "If a man dies, and leaves as his heirs one son and one daughter, the son receives two-thirds of the property left by the deceased, and the daughter one-third." The *Shaiḫ* listened to him with approval and then, without saying another word,⁶ left the place. It afterwards became known⁷ that the *Shaiḫ* observed that practice in ac-

ing to observe any of the ordinary restrictions of religion and morality, is always regarded by Badāonī, and by all Muslims of *Ṣūfī*-istic tendencies, as worthy of special remark. The *Ṣūfī* holds himself to be absolved from all such observances. He is above such trivial matters, which have been ordained for the common herd. He is, in short, an antinomian. *Vide supra* p. 27 n. 4.

1 با آن. MS. (A) has بان, wrongly. Here we have another instance of fact of a *Ṣūfī* observing the religious and moral law being considered extraordinary.

2 هر omitted from the text in spite of the authority of both MSS.

3 The opening chapter of the *Qur'ān*, recited either in behalf of one's self or of others. Here evidently used as a prayer for the dead.

4 The text here destroys the whole sense of this passage with یکی از خادمان omitting the proposition. The MSS. have the proposition به یکی, showing that it was the *Shaiḫ* who spoke to the attendant, not the attendant to the *Shaiḫ*.

5 The Muslim law of inheritance and the division of property left by a deceased person.

6 سخن نا گفته. MS. (B) has نه for نا.

7 چنان بظهور نیامید. MS. (B) has چنانچه for چنان, but with چنان superscribed.

cordance with that tradition, pregnant with meaning, the substance of which is that if a question from the *Farā'iz* be recited over a tomb, and a statement of the shares of inheritance be made, all the people lying buried there are, by virtue of the recitation of that portion of the law, forgiven their sins.¹ The *Shaiḥ* never failed to observe this practice on Fridays.

XXXI. *SHAIḤ KAFŪR-I-MAJZŪN*² OF GWĀLIYĀR.

(May God have mercy upon him !)³

He was a Ḥusaini⁴ Sayyid, and in early life followed the military profession.⁵ Suddenly, leaving the service, he adopted the occupation of a water-carrier, and at night used to carry water to the houses of chaste and secluded widows,⁶ and used to take water to the people free of charge, until he experienced a mysterious attraction towards God, when he gave up all employment, and, abandoning his own free-will, no longer spoke at all, in the way of conversation, but was ever longing for dissolution.

58.

I passed from Thy street supporting myself in my weakness with my hand against the wall,

Thou camest in Thy glory, and I was struck motionless as a picture on the wall.⁷

He chose for his dwelling a house in the lower market of Gwāliyār,⁸ and always remained there, and passed all his time with his head drooping in meditation. If any question occurred to the minds of those who were present with him he would answer it, after the manner of those who are mysteriously drawn to God, as though he were raving in a delirium,⁹ and would solve

¹ Apparently by the vicarious merit of the reciter.

² Affected by جذبة, the mysterious attraction towards God.

³ This benediction occurs in MS. (A) only.

⁴ I.e., a Sayyid descended from Ḥusain.

⁵ سپاهگیری text, and MS. (B). MS. (A) has سپاهگیری.

⁶ عورات بدوة. The use of the word عورات in the sense of "woman," clearly shews the author to have been a native of India. The word does not mean "woman" in Arabic or Persian.

⁷ A very common simile in Persian poetry for a person who is suddenly struck motionless by surprise, terror, admiration, or any other emotion.

⁸ Or perhaps, "below the market place at Gwāliyār.

⁹ This passage shews us the frame of mind expected in men who claim to have been "mysteriously attracted" towards God. It is on this account that madness is regarded in the East with respect, for the Oriental commonly

the difficulty, and he would recount what was passing at a distance.¹ He always passed the night in a standing posture, sometimes weeping and sometimes laughing.

I have heard from his confidants² that on one occasion a *Sayyid* came from a foreign country and asked the *Shaiikh* to prove his claim to being a *Sayyid*.³ The *Shaiikh* ordered firewood to be brought, and a large fire to be lighted, and then, taking the man by the hand, said, "Come, let us both enter the fire,

"That his face may be blackened⁴ who is lying."

The *Sayyid* held aloof, but *Shaiikh* Kapūr, entering the fire, came out of it without hurt; and many other similar miracles are related of him. All accounts of him agree in this respect. For the sake of brevity I have related only this much.

⁵ In the course of the year H. 979 (A.D. 1571-2) he ran out one night shouting "Strike, strike!"⁶ and fell from over the door of his house, and surrendered his life to God. *Shaiikh* Faizi found the date of his death in the words "*Kapūr-i Majzūb*."⁷

XXXII. *SHAIKH ALLĀH*⁸ *BAKHSH* OF GARMAKTESAR.⁹

Garmaktesar is a *pargana* town on the banks of the Ganges, in the *Sarkār* of Sambal. He lived for forty years in poverty

believes that the maniac is as likely to be possessed by God as by an evil spirit. The account of travels of the eccentric Tom Coryate supplies us with an interesting example of this view of madness.

۱ مغنیات. This word has been too much for the scribe of MS. (B), whose version is مغنیات.

۲ نقات. MS. (B) has نقاب.

۳ برهان سیادت ازو طلبیده بود. The MSS. omit از.

۴ I.e., "that he may be put to shame," the usual idiom in Persian and Urdu. It is peculiarly appropriate here, from the nature of the ordeal.

۵ MS. (A) has و here.

۶ مار مار. These words are probably Hindūstānī, which the *Shaiikh* most likely spoke, at any rate in moments of excitement, and I have translated them accordingly. If we suppose them to be Persian they will mean "snake, a snake!"

۷ $20 + 2 + 6 + 200 + 40 + 3 + 600 + 6 + 2 = 879$, the sum being just a hundred short.

۸ The text has الله (*Ilāh*) though both MSS. have الله (*Allāh*).

۹ Garmaktesar, or more properly Garhmakhtesar, is now an interesting old town in the Mirāth District, N.-W. P., picturesquely situated on the

CHAPTER II.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE LEARNED MEN, MOST OF WHOM THE AUTHOR HAS MET, OR FROM WHOM HE HAS RECEIVED INSTRUCTION.

Besides those learned men whom the author has met, the large number of those whom he has not seen, but who are well known in all parts of the land, exceeds the bounds of computation and the limits of enumeration. Of those whom the author has known one is that master of masters, Shaikh Hātim of Sambhal.

I. SHAIKH HĀTIM OF SAMBHAL.¹

He was the pupil of Miyān 'Azīz-llāh of Talamba.² Taking him in all he had no equal in this generation as a sage versed both in those branches of knowledge which demand the exercise of the reasoning faculty, and in those which demand the exercise of the memory, but especially in scholastic theology, (Quranic) exegesis, practical theology, and Arabic literature. It used to be said that he had, in the course of teaching, gone through the commentary 67 on the *Miftāḥ*³ and the *Mufasssal*,⁴ from the *bā* of *Bismi-llāh* to the *tā* of "*tammata*," nearly forty times, and that he had gone through all other advanced works (on theology) as often. He used to tell Makhdūmu-l-Mulk that he had no rival in disputation. When Mullā 'Alā'u-d-din Lāri took to the *Miyān*, with the greatest assurance, his notes on the commentary on the '*Aqā'id-i-Nasafi*,⁵ the *Miyān*, after perusing them, discussed the matter with such minuteness of detail that Mullā 'Alā'u-d-din was unable to answer him.

¹ Vide vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 428.

² Vide page 3, note 4.

³ The *Miftāḥ-i-l-'utūm*, a work on grammar and rhetoric. The commentary on it was written by Maulā Hisāmu-d-din al Mawaffiqī. Vide vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 428, note 2.

⁴ A commentary on the book called *Talḥīṣ-i-l-Miftāḥ*, vide vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 428, note 4.

⁵ Vide vol. ii, text, p. 56.

In scholastic theology the greatest of the Imāms¹ (on him be the mercy of God!) was inferior to the *Miyān*. The *Miyān* was an ascetic and strove much in the way of holiness, and was pious and devout, although he sat in the seat of honour and dignity, exercising absolute authority.

When I, in the time of Bairam Khān,² the Khān-Khānān, re-entered the service of the *Miyān* in Agra, after an interval of five years, I delivered to him a request for a decision on a point of theology from *Shaikh* Mubārak³ of Nāgōr, from whom I was at that time receiving instruction. After inquiring of me how I had done during the time of my separation from him, the *Miyān* said, "What sort of a religious teacher is *Shaikh* Mubārak?" I told him what I knew of the *Shaikh's* conduct as a *Mullā*, of his piety, his poverty, his striving in the path of holiness, and his commands and prohibitions in religious matters which in those days he took upon himself to issue, declaring them to be binding. He replied, "Yes, indeed. I also have heard him well spoken of, but they say that he holds the *Mahdawī* doctrines. Is this true?" I said, "He believes *Mir Sayyid Muḥammad* of Jaunpūr⁴ (may his tomb be sanctified!) to have been a great saint, but does not believe him to have been the *Mahdī*." He replied, "What doubt can there be regarding the perfections of the *Mir*?" *Mir Sayyid Muḥammad*, *Mir-i-'Adl*,⁵ now deceased and pardoned, who was a pupil of the *Miyān*, was also present; and he said, "Why do they call *Mir Sayyid Muḥammad* of Jaunpūr the *Mahdī*?" I told him that it was on account of his assumption of the authority to issue authoritative orders and prohibitions in religious matters. *Mir Sayyid Muḥammad* again questioned me, saying, "*Mir 'Abdu'l-Ḥayy* of *Kharāsān*,⁶ who held the title of *Ṣadr* for some time, one day spoke ill of the *Shaikh* to the *Khān*."

¹ Scil. the Imām Abū Ḥanīfah, founder of the Ḥanafī school of jurisprudence.

² Vide page 8, note 4.

³ The father of *Shaikh* Abū-l-Faiz Faizī and *Shaikh* Abū-l-Faḍl. Vide *infra*, No. III.

⁴ Vide vol. i, trans. Ranking, page 420, note 8, and *Ain-i-Akbarī*, i (biog.), p. v.

⁵ Vide *infra*, No. IV.

⁶ Vide *Ain-i-Akbarī*, i, 468, 471, 480. In the *Tabaqāt* he is called *Khāja*

i-Khānān. Do you know the reason of this?" I said, "The 68 Shaiikh wrote him a note, giving him advice on various religious matters, and among other things advised him to attend prayers with the *Sunnī* congregation in the *Masjid-i-Ḥayy*.¹ This offended 'Abdu'l-Ḥayy, and he attributed this advice to the Shaiikh being a *Mahdawi*, and supposed that he was reproaching him with heresy." Mir Sayyid Muḥammad said, "This deduction of the Mir with regard to his own heresy depends upon this syllogism, 'You do not join in the congregational prayers: everybody who does not join in the congregational prayers is a schismatic: therefore you are a schismatic.' But the major proposition is inadmissible. And likewise the syllogism, 'The Shaiikh assumes the power of issuing authoritative commands; anybody who issues authoritative commands is the *Mahdī*, etc., is unsound.'" The *Miyān* then said, "I will seal this application for a decision,² but I will retain it in the same manner³ as I have retained another application for a decision which was sent to me under the seal of some of the elders of this place, and in respect of which I have some doubts. Now do you take this to Shaiikh Bahā'u-d-dīn,

'Abdu'l-Ḥayy, and is said to have been an *Amir*. He was for some time *Mir-i-'Adl*, or chief justice of the empire. He was a jovial judge, and on one occasion with Mirān Ṣadr-i-Jahān, the chief ecclesiastical authority of the empire, exceeded the bounds of temperance at a drinking party. Akbar was much amused by the sight of his high dignitaries in their cups, and quoted the verse of *Hāfiẓ*,

دورر پادشاه خطا بخش جرم پوش * حافظ قرآن کش شد و مفتی پناهنده

'In the reign of the King who pardons faults and cloaks sins, the reciter of the *Qur'ān* has become a totespot, and the judge a tippler.'

1 'The Mosque of the Living God.'

2 *istiftā* (استفتاء), an application for an authoritative decision on a point of doctrine or ecclesiastical law, made to a *muftī*, or ecclesiastical judge having power to issue such decisions. The decision itself is a *fatwā*.

3 A word *بکړوي* occurs here in the text, which has puzzled the editor. He says in a note that in some MSS. it is written *بکړدي*, and it is thus written in MS. (B). I think that there is very little doubt that the expression is *بکړوي* 'as it were in pledge.' The omission of the second stroke of the *gāf*, though common enough in MSS. and almost universal in Persia at the present day, sometimes does puzzle Indian *Maulavis*.

who is an accepted *muftī*, and say to him that my excuse of lack of books of reference, owing to my being on a journey, is perfectly comprehensible, but that, as to the tradition on which he has authenticated that (other) *fatwā*, it will be well if he sends me his original authenticated *fatwā*"; and say to him further, "The long and the short of the matter is that you have delivered a *fatwā* authorizing men to sell their children, when impelled thereto by hunger. In the first place this tradition is solely an *Ibrāhīm Shāhī* tradition,¹ and is not in accordance with any other standard theological works, and it is well known that the *Ibrāhīm Shāhī* traditions are not accepted by the learned as of sufficient authority to support a *fatwā*, and if you maintain that a *muftī* is competent to give the preference to a superseded² tradition, I reply without hesitation that the expression used in the 69 *Ibrāhīm Shāhī* tradition is that it is lawful for fathers (أبوين),³ in time of distress, to sell their offspring, and it is well known that the word أبوين includes both father and grandfather, as we find in the book on marriage:—"Any person whose fathers (أبوين) were Muslims is equal to him whose ancestors attained to the honour of (accepting) *Islām*," and it is agreed that the word أبوين here means "father and grandfather," not "father and mother." On the assumption that this much is granted why should it not be (ruled) that the authority to sell children vests in both grandfather and father, acting jointly; and what proof is there that such authority should be assigned to the single individual? He then retained *Shaiḫ Mubārak*'s application for a decision, and gave the former application to me. When I brought it to *Shaiḫ Mubārak* he was loud in his praises of

¹ These words clearly refer to some collection of *fatwās* compiled in the reign of a king of the name of *Ibrāhīm Shāh*, but I have been unable to trace the collection or to ascertain who the *Ibrāhīm Shāh* was in whose reign it was compiled.

² *مرجوع* (*marjū'ah*). This is another word which has puzzled the editor of the text. *مرجوع* (*marjū'*), of which this word is the feminine form, signifies 'referred,' 'brought back,' or 'sent back,' and may be used of a judgment or decision which is sent back for revision.

³ This word is an Arabic dual, and signifies, literally, 'the two fathers.'

Miyān Hātim's knowledge of theology and said, "Tell him, after conveying my salutations, that I did not affix my seal to the application for a decision as I expected that this occasion would arise." When I showed the document to Shaiḫ Bahā'u-'d-dīn he said, "As other *muftis* had confirmed the decision I trusted to what they said, and did not go deeply into the question, and there certainly was negligence on my part." The readiness of Shaiḫ Bahā'u-'d-dīn, the *mufti*, who was a man of high position and great virtue, to acknowledge his fault, was evidence of his perception and love of truth, and of his rectitude and justice:—

"At the head of that letter which Āṣaf wrote

He wrote, 'God had mercy on the most just.'"

Miyān Hātim, after enjoying the blessing of the opportunity of teaching and imparting instruction for a period of seventy years, passed away from this transitory world in the year H. 968 (A.D. 1560-61). The chronogram of his death has been already given; the words, "With the King he is powerful,"¹ were found to give the date of his death. He left his son, Shaiḫ 'Abdu-'l-Hātim by name, as his successor as a religious leader and Shaiḫ, but 70 not as *Mullā*. He too rejoined his venerable father in the year H. 989 (A.D. 1581) and left some degenerate sons as his heirs.

"How long shall I cherish by blandishments the complaisance of stony-hearted mistresses (idols) ?

"These degenerate sons do not call to mind their father."

II. MAULĀNĀ 'ABDU-'LLĀH OF SULTĀNPŪR.²

He was of the *Anṣār*³ tribe. His ancestors came to Sultānpūr and settled there. He was one of the greatest sages of his time,

عِنْدَ مَلِكٍ مُتَّقِرٍ ۱. These words, which may also be translated, 'He is with the mighty King,' give the date 968. The chronogram has already been given on p. 47 of vol. ii (text).

² Maulānā 'Abdu-'llāh, Maḥdūmū-l-Mulk, was the famous leader of the orthodox party in the reign of Akbar, and the persecutor of Shaiḫ Mubārak, father of Abū-l-Faṣl. Vide vol. ii, text, pp. 19, 41, 84, 151, 154, 199, 202, 203, 204, 209, 255, 263, 267, 270, 273, 277, 311. In his later years he advanced some heterodox opinions, but they were not of the kind that gained favour at court. Vide also vol. i, trans. Ranking, pp. 506, 513-519, 521, 523, 525, 534.

³ Apparently an Afghān tribe.

and had not his equal in this age, especially in his knowledge of Arabic, Quranic exegesis, scholastic theology, history, and all those branches of learning which depend upon the exercise of the memory. He has left wonderful compositions, worthy of himself, the best known among them being the books known as *‘Ismāt-i-Anbiyā’*¹ and *Sharḥu Shamā‘ili-n-Nabi*² (may God bless and save him!). From the Emperor who now has his resting place in paradise (scil. Humāyūn) he received the title of *Makhdūmu-l-Mulk*, and also that of *Shāikhū-l-Islām*. He always strenuously exerted himself to enforce the holy law, and was a bigoted *Sunnī*. Owing to his exertions many heretics and schismatics went to the place prepared for them. He used, owing to his extreme bigotry, to aver of the third volume of the *Rawḍatu-l-Aḥbāb*³ that it was not the work of Mir⁴ Jamālū-d-dīn⁵ the traditionist. In the year⁶ in which Gajarāt was conquered and while Maulānā ‘Abdu-llāh possessed great honour and dignity as agent of the exalted Court in Fathpūr, I, who had just then returned from my journey to the Panjāb, went in company with Shāikh Abū-l-Faḍl, who had not yet entered the Imperial service, and Hājī Sultān of Thānesar to see Makhdūmu-l-Mulk. We saw that he had before him the third volume (of the *Rawḍatu-l-Aḥbāb*), and he said to us,

71 “See, what mischief those who are followed in this land have wrought in the faith,” and thus saying he showed us that couplet which occurs in the encomium:—

“This alone is sufficient to prove his resemblance to God,⁷
That it has been doubted that he himself was God.”

1 ‘The protection (or continence) of the prophets.’

2 ‘An exposition of the qualities of the prophet,’ i.e., Muḥammad; hence the benedictory phrase which follows.

3 A work by ‘Aṭā’u-llāh, known as Jamāl-i-Husainī, on the history of Islām.

4 The text has *Amir*. I have followed the reading of both MSS.

5 *Vide* vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 449.

6 A.D. 1672. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 142.

7 حق آزمائي MS. (A) has حق آزمائي which will not scan, and may be taken as the gloss of a pious *Sunnī*, scandalised by the attribution of the Godhead to ‘Alī.

and said, "He has passed beyond mere schism here, and has placed the question of his misbelief in quite another category, avouching his belief in the doctrine of incarnations. I am firmly resolved to burn this book in the presence of a *Shī'ah*." I, notwithstanding that I was unknown to any present,¹ and had never met Maḥdūmu-'l-Mulk before, made bold to say, "This couplet is a translation of those verses which are attributed to the *Imām Shāfi'ī*² (may God have mercy upon him!).

He looked towards me sharply and asked, "From what are you quoting?" I said, "From the commentary on *Amīr's dirān*." He said, "The commentator, Qāḍī Mīr Ḥusain-i-Mīdī,³ has also been accused of schism." I said, "This is wandering from the point." *Shāikh* Abū-'l-Faḍl and Ḥājī Sultān,⁴ with their fingers on their lips, were every now and then signing to me to be silent. Again I said, "I have heard from some trustworthy men that the third volume is not the work Mīr Jamālu-'d-dīn, but is the work of his son Sayyid Mīrak Shāh, or some other person, and that it is for this reason that its style differs from the style of the first two volumes, being poetical, and not the style peculiar to traditionists." He answered me, saying, "My child, in the second volume also I have found passages which clearly prove the heresy and misbelief of the author, and I have written notes on them. One of these passages is the statement by the author that 'Alī, the leader of the faithful (may God be gratified with him!),⁵ on the occasion when Talḥah (may God be gratified with him!) was the first to swear allegiance to him, said, "My hand is withered and thine allegiance is worthless," that is to say, that 'Alī Murtazā, the leader of the faithful, actually took as a bad omen the fact that Talḥah's arm was withered—that arm which

¹ This translation is conjectural. The reading of the text and the MSS. is *مخرجند از خبا یای مجهول*. I cannot ascertain the meaning of the word *خبا*.

² The *Imām* Abū 'Abdu-'Llāh Muḥammad bīn Idrīs *Shāfi'ī*, founder of one of the four principal *Sunnī* schools of jurisprudence.

³ Sic in both MSS. the text has *Mīdī*.

⁴ *Fīd* No. XXXVII.

⁵ The words "'Alī' and the benedictory phrase are omitted from the text, but are to be found in both MSS.

in the battle of Uhud¹ was the shield of his holiness the prophet 72 (may God bless and save him and his family!), and was pierced with eleven wounds,—a presumption expressly forbidden by the holy law. God forbid that such should be the case! It is impossible that 'Alī should have followed such a custom, and it is impossible to believe that he did so." I said, "There is manifestly a distinction between foreboding and augury." Shaiḫ Abū-'l-Faḏl secretly pressed my hand and warned me to be silent. 'Abdu-'llāh said to him, "Tell me something about this person (*scil.* Badā'oni); who is he?" He and Ḥājī Sultān then told him something of my affairs, and our meeting passed off quietly. After we had left him my friends said to me, "You have passed through a great danger, but (fortunately) he did not set himself to persecute you. Had he done so who could have saved you?" Maulānā 'Abdu-'llāh, when he first set eyes on Shaiḫ Abū-'l-Faḏl, in the early years of the Emperor's reign, said to his pupils, "What injury will this man not do to the faith?"

"When I saw him in his childhood I showed him to those of the faith,

"(Saying) 'He will work mischief among the souls of men, to your guardianship I entrust him.'"

Maulānā 'Abdu-'llāh departed to eternity in Gujarāt in the year H. 990 (A.D. 1582), after his return from the pilgrimage to the glorious city of Makkah, and the chronogram in the following verses was found to give the date of his death:—

Makhdūm-i-Mulk departed and took with him,

As a sign on his forehead, (the words) "the mercy of God."

¹ Uhud is a mountain about four miles to the north of Madinah, where Muḥammad, at the head of 1,000 men, was defeated by the Quraish, who had marched against him to avenge their defeat at Badr. Of the Muslims seventy men were slain, among them Ḥamzah, the uncle of Muḥammad, and of the infidels twenty-two. Muḥammad was struck down by a shower of stones and wounded in the face with two arrows, on pulling out which his two front teeth dropped out. Vide *Qur'ān*, c. iii.

When I sought of my heart the date of his death,
It replied to me, "Reckon the second hemistich (of
these verses.)" ¹

He left behind him some degenerate sons who are unworthy of mention; and here I may remark that all the rising generation give cause of complaint to their progenitors, for indeed it seems that the climate of this age will cherish, nay will produce, none better than such fellows:—

I see no good in the world.

This seems to be the age of impotence.

This state of affairs reminds us of the story that a certain king who was a bigoted *Sunni* led an army against Sabzawār, which is a hotbed of schism, its inhabitants being all fanatics. The chief men of the place came out and made their representa- 73
tions to the king, saying, "We are Musalmāns; what fault have we committed that you should have brought an army against us?" The king replied, "Your fault is your zeal for schism." They replied, "This is a false accusation that has been brought against us." The king said, "Produce from your city in support of your allegation a man of the name of Abū Bakr,² and I will swerve from my intention of slaying you and of plundering your city." After much search and with much difficulty they produced before the king an unknown panper, saying, "This man is called by the name which you desired." After observing the man's old garments and despicable condition, the king asked, "Had you nobody better than this to produce before me?" They said, "O king, ceremony apart, the climate

¹ There is something wrong with this chronogram. The values of the letters of the words composing the second hemistich give either 1488 or 1023, according to the value, 5 or 400, given to the letter *z* in the word *رحمه*. The words *عصرع ثاني* ("the second hemistich") give the date 961. There may, perhaps, be an enigma concealed in the verses, though none is indicated.

² The name of the first: *Ḥaḥḥiyyah*. The *Shi'ahs* do not give to their sons the names of Abū-Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uṭhman, which were those of the first: three *Ḥaḥḥiyyahs*, whom they execrate as usurpers.

of Sabzawār cherishes an Abū Bakr no better than this." And the *Maulavī-yi-ma'navī*¹ (may his tomb be hallowed) refers to this story in his *Maṣnavī* as follows:—

"This unstable world is a Sabzawār to us,
We, like Bā-Bakrs, live in it mean and despised."

III. SHAIKH MUBĀRAK OF NĀGŌR.²

He was one of the great sages of the age and was distinguished among the men of his time and his contemporaries for his piety, devotion, and trust in God. In early life he observed many austerities and strove much in the way of holiness, and was so zealous in enforcing the commands and prohibitions of the holy law that if anybody was present while he was giving religious instruction wearing a golden ring, or silk clothing, or red hose, or red or yellow garments, he at once made him remove them, and if anyone appeared with long breeches, descending below the heel, he immediately had them torn to the proper length. If, while walking through the streets, he heard the noise of any singing he would start violently. In his zeal for God he was so devoted to singing that he was scarcely for a moment of the day at ease without being employed in listening to the chanting of hymns, psalms, mystic melodies, and music.

74 In short he followed many and various rules of life. For some time during the reigns of the Afghān Emperors he used to keep

¹ *Manlānā Jalālū-d-dīn Rūmī*, author of the *Maṣnavī-yi-ma'navī*.

² Shaikh Mubārak of Nāgŏr was the father of Shaikh Faiẓī and Shaikh Abū-l-Faẓl. At one time he held the Mahdavi doctrines and was persecuted by Makhdūm-l-Mulk, but when Abū-l-Faẓl attained a high position at court the orthodox were, in their turn, harassed and persecuted. Shaikh Mubārak was the composer and chief signatory of the instrument which declared the emperor to be the highest authority on religious and ecclesiastical as well as in secular matters, an instrument which utterly broke the power of the 'Ulamā. Shaikh Mubārak afterwards joined Akbar's new religion, 'the divine faith.' Vide vol. ii, text, pp. 32, 109, 201, 270, 312, 343; also *Āin-i-Akbarī*, i, 490. Shaikh Mubārak often changed his religious opinions, having first become a Mahdawī, then a Naqqābandī, then a Hamadānī, and then a Shī'ah, before he joined the 'divine faith.'

company with Shaiikh 'Alā'ī,¹ and in the beginning of the Emperor's reign, when the *Naqshbandī* order were in great esteem, he adapted himself to their rule, and for some time he was attached to the Hamadānī Shaiikhs, and at last when the 'Trāqīs were in great favour at Court he spoke as one of their religion.² "Converse with men according to their understanding," was his practice, and so he continued to do. He was always employed in giving religious instruction, and was well-versed in poetry, enigmas, and in all other arts and branches of learning, but especially in the theology of the *Ṣūfīs*, and, unlike most other learned men of India, he practised their system thoroughly. He also had *Shāṭibī* by heart, and used to give instruction in the law of inheritance. He also had by heart the glorious *Qur'ān*, according to each of the ten methods of reading it.

He never went to the houses of nobles, but was a very pleasant companion, and had a great stock of wonderful anecdotes. Towards the end of his life, when his sight failed him and he was unable to read, he went into retirement and wrote a commentary similar to the *Tafsīr-i-Kabīr*,³ contained in four large volumes, and named it the *Mamba'u-Nafā'isi-l-'Uyūn*.⁴ The strange thing is that in the exordium to that commentary he wrote certain passages which seem to contain pretensions to the establishment of new principles in religion, and the innovations contained therein are those which are well known. At the time when he was enabled, by God's grace, to complete that commentary he used constantly to recite, with a view to reminding himself of what he owed to God, the *Qaṣīda-yi-Fāriṣiyya* in *ta*,⁵ which contains seven hundred couplets, the *Qaṣīda-yi-Burda*, by Ka'b bin Zuhair,⁶ and other epodes which he had committed to memory,

¹ Shaiikh 'Alā'ī of Biyāna, son of Shaiikh Ḥasan of Bengal, for an account of whom vide *Āin-i-Akbarī*, i (biog.), p. 7; also *Badāonī*, vol. i, trans. Ranking, 507-524.

² i.e., as one of the *Shā'rah* sect. ³ 'The great commentary' on the *Qur'ān*.

⁴ 'The source of excellent fountains.'

⁵ That is to say, a *qaṣīdah* of which the rhyming words end in the letter ت (*tā*).

⁶ Vide page 4, note 1. The text runs تصيدٌ بردة و تصيدٌ كعب بن زهير

until, on the seventeenth of Zi-Qa'da, A.H. 1001 (Aug. 15, 1593), he passed away from this world in Lāhor. He was a *mullā* whose like, as regards the scope of his attainments, has never been seen, and the pity is that his love of the world with its pomps, concealed under the garment of holy poverty, left no room for the love of the faith of Islām. The author, in his youth, spent some 75 years in Āgra under his tuition, and owes him much, but can no longer feel himself fettered by his indebtedness to him, owing to his numerous acts of worldliness and impiety, his devotion to wealth and pomp, his time serving, his deceit and double-dealing, and his zeal for innovations in the faith. "Answer, God; and either we, or ye, follow the direction, or are in a manifest error." ¹

In short, the saying of the common people, that the son brings curses on his father, is exemplified in his case, just as it happened in the case of Yazīd,² in respect of whom some impudently and presumptuously say, "Curses be on Yazīd and on his father!"

IV. MĪR SAYYID MUḤAMMAD, *Mir-i-'Adl*.³ OF AMROHA.

Amroha⁴ is a *pargana* town in the *Sarkār* of Sambhal. Mir Sayyid Muḥammad was exceedingly pious, devout, and abstemious

as though two separate *qaṣidah* were indicated. MS. (A) reads تصيد كعب and MS. (B) reads تصيد برد كعب بن زهير. The editor has inserted both readings, which are alternative. For mention of this *qaṣidah*, vide p. 4 and note 1.

¹ قُلْ اَللّٰهُ وَاَنَا۠ اَوْۤ اَيُّكُمْ لَعَلٰى هُدًى اَوْ فِى ضَلَالٍ مُّبِيۡنٍ Qu'rān xxxiv, 24.

The answer is to the question, "Who provideth food for you from heaven and earth?"

² Yazīd, the son of Mu'āwiyah, the second *Khalīfah* of the house of Ummaiyah. He is celebrated in Muḥammadan history as the opponent of Ḥusain, the son of 'Alī, who was killed at Karbalā in A.H. 61 (A.D. 680-81).

³ i.e., Chief justice. For mention of Mir Sayyid Muḥammad, who was one of the 'Ulamā, vide vol. ii, text, pp. 220, 222, 245.

⁴ Now the headquarters of the *tahsil* of the same name in the Murādābād

ous. He and the author's father were in their youth fellow-students under various teachers in the city of Sambhal, and also in Badāon under Mir Sayyid Jalāl, a sage who had studied the traditional sayings of the prophet under Mir Sayyid Rafi'u-'d-din. Mir Sayyid Muḥammad, after completing his course of studies, employed himself in teaching, and towards the end of his life attained to a high position in the Imperial Court, receiving the appointment of *Mīr-i-'Adl*. In this high post he showed himself to be scrupulously just, straightforward and trustworthy, so that even the *Qāḏi'u-l-Quḏāt*¹ of the time, out of respect to Mir Sayyid Muḥammad's age, refrained from his customary double-dealing and base behaviour, and during the Mir's tenure of his post no heretic or schismatic had an opportunity of damaging the faith of Islām.

After the death of Mir Sayyid Muḥammad the title of *Mīr-i-'Adl* was applied to and assumed by many persons.

The *Mīr*, owing to his hereditary connection with me and the long-standing affection which he had for me, advised me, when I first appeared at court, to have nothing to do with any *madad-i-* 76 *ma'āsh*, and to refrain from subjecting myself to the base actions of the *Ṣadrs*, recommending me to enter the Imperial service in any post I could obtain, for that the *Ṣadrs* were tyrannical egotists. Owing to my disregard of his advice I naturally experienced what I have experienced, and suffered what I have suffered. The *Mīr* was appointed to the government of Bakkar² in the year H. 984 (A.D. 1576-77), and in that city departed this life in the year H. 986 (A.D. 1578-79).³

District of the United Provinces. *Vide Imperial Gazetteer* (new series), v, 330, and *Āin-i-Akbarī*, ii, 289.

¹ Badāonī apparently uses this title as equivalent to that of *Ṣadr-i-Jahān* who was chief of the *qāḏīs*. If this be so, the person referred to is probably *Shaiḫ* 'Abdu-'n-Nabī. *Vide infra*, No. X, or perhaps *Qāḏi Ya'qūb*, No. IX.

² He was sent to Bakkar on the dispersal of the 'Ulamā from court.

³ According to the *Tārīkh-i-Ma'ṣūmī* Mir Sayyid Muḥammad arrived at Bakkar on Ramaḏān 11, A.H. 983 (Dec. 14th, 1575) and died there *Shahbān* 8, A.H. 984 (Oct. 31st, 1576).

V. SHAIKH GADĀ'Ī OF DĪHLĪ, THE KAMBŪ.¹

He was the son and successor of Shaiikh Jamālī, the famous poet. He perfected himself in exoteric learning and enjoyed the society of the learned men of the age, being much benefited by their companionship. By means of the claim which intimate friendship gave him on Bairam Khān he obtained the appointment of *Ṣadr-u's-Ṣudūr*² in India, and was for several years resorted to, as an authority on religious questions; by the sages and principal men of Hindūstān, Khurāsān, Transoxiana, and 'Irāq. He was a born poet, and used to compose and sing hymns and religious songs after the Indian manner,³ to which pursuits he was passionately addicted.

After he had dissociated himself from Bairam Khān, the Khān-i-Khānān, and returned from the neighbourhood of Bikānir to Dihlī,⁴ he was honoured and esteemed at Court as before. When in Dihlī he always used to attend the shrines of the saints there (may God sanctify their souls!) on their anniversaries, and used to hold assemblies with great pomp and circumstance. He left this world for the next either in the year H. 976

¹ Kambū (spelt Kambūh in vol. ii, *passim*) is the name of a tribe. According to a proverb the Afghāns are the first, the Kambūs the second, and the Kashmīris the third sets of scoundrels. Shaiikh Gadā'ī was one of those who attempted to persuade Akbar to butcher Hemū in cold blood. Vide vol. ii, text, p. 16.

² Shaiikh Gadā'ī was Akbar's first *Ṣadr-u's-Ṣudūr* or *Ṣadr-i-Jahān*, a very important post. The dignity of the *Ṣadr*, especially before the advent of the Mughul dynasty, had been very great. 'It was he who legalized the accession of a new king. During the reign of Akbar also he ranked as the fourth officer of the empire. His power was immense. He was the highest law officer and had the powers which Administrators-General have among us; he was in charge of all lands devoted to ecclesiastical and benevolent purposes and possessed an almost unlimited authority of conferring such lands independently of the king. He was also the highest ecclesiastical law officer, and might exercise the powers of a High Inquisitor.' Vide *Āin-i-Akbarī*, i, 270. Shaiikh Gadā'ī was, like his patron, a *Shī'ah*. Vide vol. ii, text, *passim*.

³ صورت هندی می‌بست MS. (B) has, wrongly, صورت for صورت.

⁴ In A.D. 1560. Vide vol. ii, text, p. 38.

(A.D. 1568-69) or in the year II. 979 (A.D. 1571-72),¹ leaving behind him sons no better than the sons of most men in this degenerate age, "as has been decreed for these days, and in accordance with the decree of God the all-wise."

The following verses are an extract from the poems of Shaiḫ Gadā'i:—

"At times my soul, at times my heart became the abode of 77
grief.

"I ever grieve after thee, as I travel, stage by stage.

"Be not forgetful of my grief and pain,

"For there is no moment of my life which is not occupied
with thoughts of thee.

"I have bound my frenzied heart in thy tresses,

"Myself am bound in those musky chains.

"If desires could be easily accomplished by the surrender of
life

"No difficulties would remain to true lovers.

"Gadā'i, thou hast lost thy life in unsuccessful endeavour!

"I have not obtained my desire from the lips of my
friend."

I have copied these verses from the memoir of Mir 'Alā'u-'d-daulah, which is not to be trusted. I suspect that they are not Gadā'i's. But God knows the truth!

VI. MIYĀN JANĀL KHĀN, MUFTI OF DELHI.²

He was the pupil of his own worthy father, Shaiḫ Naṣīru-'d-din, and the brother of Miyān Lūdan. He was of the Kambū tribe. He was one of the most learned men of his time both in those branches of knowledge which depend on the reasoning

¹ In the former year, according to vol. ii (text, p. 110) where the chronogram کلان عروذی حوی ('You are dead, you great hog'), giving the date 976, confirms the statement in the text.

² Vide *Īn-i-Ālbārī*, i, 544. He is classed by Abū'l-Faṭl as one of those who understand sciences resting on testimony only, i.e., as a mere theologian.

faculty, and in those which depend on the memory, but especially in practical and scholastic theology, knowledge of Arabic, and expounding the *Qur'ān*, in which studies he was unequalled. He used to speak authoritatively on the commentaries on the *Miftāḥ*,¹ and it is said that he had, in the course of teaching, gone through the book '*Aẓḍī*, one of the most advanced works, forty times. He used to impart religious instruction, and never went to the houses of kings or nobles, but always affected the company of magistrates who were honoured and respected. Most of his pupils have become wise men. He passed away to the next world in the year H. 984 (A.D. 1576-77) at the age of more than ninety years.

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VII. QĀZĪ JALĀLU-'D-DĪN OF MULTĀN.²

He came originally from the neighbourhood of the fortress of Bakkar.³ He was a profound sage, ever speaking the truth and loving it. In early life he was a merchant, and in middle age he employed himself in teaching. He taught in *Āgra* for some years, and then, in consequence of certain events which have been narrated in the detailed account of Akbar's reign, was employed in the high post of *Qāẓī*, after the dismissal of *Qāẓī Ya'qūb*. In respect of his integrity and trustworthiness he was the best of *Qāẓīs*, but, owing to the misfortune of his having a corrupt son, a handsome blockhead, and in consequence of the machinations of all the base pimps about the Court, his own lack of worldly wisdom, and his inability to appreciate the spirit of the age and the ideas of his contemporaries, he was banished to

¹ Vide vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 428, note 2.

² Qāẓī Jalālu-d-dīn is classed by Abū-l-Faẓl in the same category as Jamāl Khān, vide *Āin-i-Akbarī*, i, 546. He was appointed *Qāẓī'u-l-Quẓẓāt* on the degradation of *Shāikh Ya'qūb* for refusing to pronounce *mut'ah* marriages to be legal. He was one of the signatories of the deed which recognised Akbar as the chief ecclesiastical authority in the empire. Vide vol. ii, text, pp. 209, 270.

³ Bhakkar, formerly headquarters of the Bhakkar *Sarkār* of the *Sūba* of Multān, vide *Āin-i-Akbarī*, ii, 333. Now headquarters of the *tahsil* of the same name in the *Miyānwālī* District, Panjāb; vide *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (new series), viii, 44.

the Dakan,¹ the rulers of which land, having heard of his staunchness to Islām and his preaching of the word of God, honoured him to the utmost extent of their power. From the Dakan he was privileged to perform the pilgrimage to the holy house of God, and there replied, "Here am I," to the summons of God.

VIII. Qāzī Tawā'isī.

Tawā'isī is a dependency of Khurāsān. He was a most trustworthy man, but, as he was devoid of learning, some of his decisions were wrong. He had suffered much at the hands of the wealthy men of his time,² and was therefore always much prejudiced against them, and would, as far as possible, show favour to the poorer party, even though he were in the wrong. He did not understand that in these days it is generally the wrong-doer that cries for justice, in which connection Shaikh 79 Abū'l-Faḍl has said, "If the greatest of the *Imāms* ³ had lived in our time he would have written on practical theology otherwise than as he did."

When the Khān-i-Zaman broke out into rebellion he gave a decision to the effect that the seizure of the effects of a rebel was unlawful,⁴ and this decision led to his deposition and the appointment of Qāzī Ya'qūb in his place. Very shortly after his deposition he passed away from this world.

¹ Badā'uni here makes it appear that Jalāla-d-din's banishment was the result of underhand machinations, but as a matter of fact he was banished for forging a draft on the treasury for 500,000 *tankas*. He was banished to the Dakan in the hope that the Muhammadan kings in Southern India, being bigoted *Shī'ahs*, would have him put to death as a bigoted *Sunni*. Vide vol. ii, text, 313.

² Probably the same as Tāwawis, 'a dependency of Bukhārā, seven parasangs from Bukhārā,' vide *Amn-i-Akhlari*, iii, 97.

³ *عَبَّاسِي زَمَان* MS. (A) has *اعليٰ زمان* and MS. (B) *اعيار زمان*. Both of these readings are wrong.

⁴ Abū Hanifah, one of the four great *Sunni* doctors of the law, and founder of the *Hanafi* school of jurisprudence.

⁵ Vide vol. ii, text, p. 100. Qāzī Tawā'isī, whom I find nowhere described by name, was at the time Akbar's camp Qāzī. The Lakhnau edition of the *Talazat* calls him 'Qāzī Tawā'ishī.'

IX. QĀZĪ YA'QŪB OF MĀNIKPŪR.¹

He was related to Qāzī Faḡīlat,² and was well skilled in practical theology and in the principles of that science. He was of a cheerful and open disposition, and used to compose Arabic verses in Indian metres. They say that while he was, for several years, the *Qāzī'u-l-Quḡḡāt* of India, he used to take aphrodisiac electuaries in large quantities. One day when he was present at a party given by the Emperor, several intoxicating and stimulating drugs were handed round, and were offered to the *Qāzī* among others. He refused them, and when he was asked what sort of drugs he took, one of the Emperor's Hindū favourites immediately replied, "The *Qāzī* takes mercury."³

After his dismissal from the post of *Qāzī'u-l-Quḡḡāt* he was appointed to be *Qāzī* of Bangāl, and was sent off to that province,⁴ and while there used to use aphrodisiacs to excess, a slave to the violence of his lusts. He was a confederate of Ma'sūm-i-Kābuli in his rebellion⁵ and was in consequence recalled from that province and sentenced to be imprisoned in the fortress of Gwāliyār, and on his way to that place removed the baggage

¹ Mānikpūr was the headquarters of a *sarkār* in the *ṣūba* of Ilāhābād, *vide* *Īn-i-Akbarī*, ii, 164.

² Qāzī Ya'qūb was son-in-law to Qāzī Faḡīlat, *Qāzī* of the army under Shīr Shāh, 'who was popularly known by the more appropriate title of Qāzī Faḡīlat.' *Idē* vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 474 and note 4, and vol. ii, text, p. 101.

³ *بارق* or *بارق*, a Hindi word. Mercury was apparently used as an aphrodisiac.

⁴ According to vol. ii, text, p. 101, Ya'qūb superseded Tawā'isī as chief *qāzī* in A. H. 974 (A.D. 1567) and was degraded ten years later, so that he must have gone to Bengal in A. H. 984 (A.D. 1576-77).

⁵ *Idē* vol. ii, text, p. 276. The rebellion was first preached at Jaunpūr by Mullā Muḥammad of Yazd, who gave a *fatwā* or formal decision to the effect that rebellion against Akbar, as an enemy to Islām, was lawful. It broke out in A.D. 1579, the ringleaders being Muḥammad Ma'sūm of Kābul, Maḥammad Ma'sūm Khān Farankhūdī, Mir Mu'izza-l-Mulk, Niyābat Khān, 'Arab Bahādar, and others. Mu'izza-l-Mulk and Mullā Muḥammad Yazdī were called to the capital, and on their way thither were put to death by being drowned in the Jamna.

Qāzī 'Abdu-'r-Rahīm, the Qāzī of Mathura, laid a complaint before the Shaiikh, to the effect that a wealthy and stiff-necked Brahman of that place had carried off the materials which he, the Qāzī, had collected for the construction of a *masjid*, and had built of them an idol-temple, and that, when the Qāzī had attempted to prevent him, he had, in the presence of witnesses, opened his foul mouth to curse the prophet (on whom be peace), and had shown his contempt for Muslims in various other ways. When the Brahman was called upon to appear, he disobeyed the Shaiikh's summons. The Emperor sent Bir Bar and Shaiikh Abū-'l-Faẓl to fetch him, and they brought him, and Shaiikh Abū-'l-Faẓl represented to the Emperor what he had heard of the case from the people, and stated that it was certainly proved that he had uttered abuse of the prophet. Some of the 'Ulamā were of opinion that he should suffer death, while others were in favour of his being publicly paraded on the back of an ass and heavily fined. The 'Ulamā were thus divided into two parties and the question was argued at length. The Shaiikh required the

81 Emperor's sanction to the execution of the Brahman, but, notwithstanding his importunity, no open sanction was given, and the Emperor said in private, "Punishments for offences against the holy law are in the hands of you, the 'Ulamā; what do you require of me?" The Brahman remained for some time in custody on the charge, and the ladies of the Imperial *haram* busied themselves in interceding for his release, but the Shaiikh's known opinions stood in the way. At last, when the Shaiikh's importunity exceeded all bounds, the Emperor said, "You have received your answer, it is that which I have already given you." No sooner had the Shaiikh reached his lodging than he issued orders for the execution of the Brahman. When this

May 12th of that year, *ibid.* 248. Although the slaying of the Brāhman is here mentioned as the chief cause of 'Abdu-n-Nabī's fall, Akbar had for some time been displeased with him. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 208, where the incident of the discussion on the marriage-law of Islām is related. Akbar then accused the Shaiikh of having at one time interpreted that law very liberally, and of having subsequently retracted this interpretation to his (Akbar's) detriment. It would appear that Akbar never forgot this.

matter was reported to the Emperor he was exceedingly wroth. The ladies of his *haram* complained in private and the Hindū courtiers in public, saying, "You have pampered these *Mullās* till their insolence has reached such a pitch that they pay no heed to your wishes, and, merely to display their own power and authority, put men to death without your orders." They plied his Majesty with arguments to such an extent that he could endure it no longer, and the leaven of designs which had long been working in his mind at length fermented and overflowed. One might, at the tank known as *Anūp Tulā'ā*.¹ he set forth the whole case, and asked certain time serving *muftīs* and stirrers up of strife for a decision on the question. One of them said, "The witnesses who have been produced prove that he has committed an offence against the person under cover of the law." Another said, "The strange thing is that *Shaikh* 'Abdu-'n-Nabī should claim to be a descendant of the greatest of the *Imāms*² (may God have mercy upon him!) according to whose school of theology the cursing of the prophet by unbelievers who have submitted to the rule of Islām gives no ground for any breach of agreement by Muslims, and in no way absolves Muslims from their obligation to safeguard infidel subjects. This question has been discursively treated in theological works, and it is hard to understand how the *Shaikh* can have so opposed himself to the principles of his ancestor." All at once the Emperor's glance fell on the author of these historical selections, standing afar off, and, turning to me he summoned me to him, saying, "Come forward." I advanced, and he put to me a question, saying, "Have you heard 82 that, supposing there are ninety-nine traditions awarding the punishment of death for a certain offence, and one tradition in accordance with which the accused person may be set at liberty, *muftīs* should give the preference to that one tradition?" I said, "Yes, it is just as your Majesty has said; but this question turns on the maxim "Verily legal punishments and inflictions are set aside by doubts"; and I translated the maxim into Persian. The

¹ i.e., the '*Ṭbādat-Khāna* or 'hall of worship.' Vide vol. ii, text, p. 201.

² Abū Ḥanīfah.

Emperor said, with evident sorrow, "Perhaps Shaikh 'Abdu-'n-Nabi was not aware of this ruling, that he put the unfortunate Brāhman to death. Yet how could it be so?" I replied, "The Shaikh is, beyond all doubt, a learned man, but he must have had some wise purpose in view, in knowingly giving an order contrary to this tradition." The Emperor said, "What purpose can he have had in view?" I said, "The closing of sedition and the uprooting of the germs of insolence from the minds of the common people." I also brought to his Majesty's notice the tradition of Qāzī 'Ayyāz on the remedies of evils, which tradition had been laid before him in connection with this case. Certain lewd fellows of the baser sort said, "Qāzī 'Ayyāz was a Mālikī,¹ and his decisions have no weight in a land of the Hanafīs." The Emperor said to me, "What do you say to this?" I said, "Although he was a Mālikī, it is yet permissible, by the sacred law, for a recognized muftī to pass sentence in accordance with his decisions." The question was argued at length, and the bystanders observed that the Emperor's moustache, during the discussion, bristled like the whiskers of a tiger, and those who were standing behind him signed to me to desist from argument. All at once the Emperor, opposing my decision, said, "What you say is nonsense!" I immediately made my submission, and retired and took my place in the circle of courtiers, and have ever since eschewed forwardness and the company of disputants, preferring retirement, and saluting the Emperor from afar.

From this time forth the fortunes of Shaikh 'Abdu-'n-Nabi began to decline. He withdrew himself from company and avoided it, concerning himself principally with his own claims to superiority and the repudiation of former decisions in legal matters, whether modern or ancient. He never went to Court.

83 About this time Shaikh Mubārak came from Āgra to Fathpūr to offer his felicitations to the Emperor on some subject or another, and the Emperor told him what had happened and asked him for his opinion. He gave his opinion authoritatively, saying,

¹ i.e., a follower of the school of jurisprudence founded by Mālik bīn Anas, one of the four great Sunnī doctors of the law. The Hanafīs are the followers of the school founded by Abū Ḥanīfah.

'Your Majesty is the *Imam* and *Mughalid* of the age. What need have you of these *Ulamā* for assistance in issuing your commands, whether religious or secular. They have no lot or part in true knowledge, beyond a groundless reputation therefor.' The Emperor said, "Since you are my teacher and I am ready to learn from you why do you not free me from dependence on these *Muḥaddith*?" Shāikh Muḥarrah made a supreme effort to gain his end, and, adorne with rancour and contumacy, said, "Do you make a claim to religious supremacy, and demand from them an attestation of your claim?" He ultimately wrote a decree affirming the religious supremacy of the Emperor and his superiority to all ecclesiastical dignitaries.¹ Shāikh 'Abdu'n-Nabi and Maḥdūma'l-Mulk were forcibly seized and compelled, as though they had been mere nobodies, to attend that assembly of base fellows. No one saluted them, and they took their seats in the *Ṣaḥḥ-i-niḥāl*,² and they were forced, much against their will, to attest that decree, whether they would or no;³ as has been mentioned in the detailed history of the Emperor's reign; and at last they both received permission to make the pilgrimage to Makkah.

Shāikh 'Abdu'n-Nabi died in the year H. 991 (A.D. 1583).⁴

IX. SHAḤḤ AHMADI FAẒĪL, or ANEETHI¹

He was among the first of the greatest sages of the time. He was devout, following a severe rule and striving much in the

¹ Vide vol. ii, text, 270.

² 'The row of shoes,' i.e., at the place where the courtiers left their shoes when entering the emperor's presence.

³ The nature of the compulsion used is not mentioned. Badā'uni, in vol. ii, text, p. 270, says that some signed willingly and others unwillingly.

⁴ In vol. ii, text, p. 312, [the date of the Shāikh's death is given as 992 (A.D. 1584), and the chronogram there given (شیخ کبیری) gives the same date. He returned to Faḥlūr from Makkah apparently in A.H. 990 (A.D. 1582). 'On his using some harsh language the emperor struck him a heavy blow in the face with his fist. The Shāikh said, "Why dost thou not strike me with a knife?"' 'Abdu'n-Nabi was then called to account for the sum of Rs. 70,000 which had been advanced for his journey to Makkah, and was thrown into prison, where he was strangled one night by a gang of men.

⁵ Vide p. 27, note 3.

path of holiness. In the feebleness of old age, when he had no longer the power to walk, and was completely bedridden, he learnt the glorious *Qur'ān* by heart. He had by heart the contents of most of the books generally read, and if one of his pupils made a mistake in reading he would correct him without referring to the text. He was well skilled in expounding the *Qur'ān*, in the traditional sayings and biography of Muḥammad, and in history. He was a fellow-citizen and contemporary of Shaiikh 84 Nizāmu-'d-dīn¹ of Ambēthi, and he used to say of him that he was strongly opposed to the recital by the congregation of the *fātiḥah* after the *imām* (during public prayers in the *masjid*).

The author had the honour of paying his respects to the Shaiikh while he was employed in giving instruction in the *Sharḥ-i-Viqāya*. One of the Shaiikh's pupils happened to be reading the following verses of Hazal:—

“ Abū-Bakr, the son of the chosen one,
Resolved on a foray in connection with a strange matter,
And he said, ‘ Verily I have resolved on a foray
Against Kaftārah, who is my father's mother. ’
And I said, ‘ Wilt thou not hearken, O my son,
To the prohibition against associating with the base ? ’

and a discussion arose whether the reading should be *كَفَّارَةٌ* or *كَفَّارَةٌ*² which latter is the feminine intensive form of the word *كَافِرٌ*, “an unbeliever.” He said that the true reading was *كَفَّارَةٌ* and that no other reading would make sense, for that *كَفَّارَةٌ* was a Persian word. My contention was that the meaning of *كَفَّارَةٌ* was more obvious than that of *كَفَّارَةٌ*,—but God knows the truth!

¹ Vide p. 27.

² *كَفَّارَةٌ* means ‘an ungrateful woman’ or ‘an intensely unbelieving woman.’ *كَفَّارَةٌ* appears to be an Arabioized feminine form of the Persian word *كَفَّار*, ‘a hyaena,’ and, as applied to a woman, might be translated ‘ghoul’ or ‘vampire.’ The discussion between Badāonī and Shaiikh Ahmadi is of no practical interest.

XII. QĀZĪ ṢADRU-'D-DĪN,¹ SOME TIME OF JALANDAR, AFTERWARDS OF
LĀHOR.

He was a profound sage, and was regarded as a leader in religious matters both by *Ṣūfīs* and by orthodox Muslims.² He was a cheerful and pleasant companion. Although he was for a time, as is well known, the pupil of *Shaiḫ* 'Abdu-'llāh Maḥdūmu-'l-Mulk, I certainly found him to be far superior to Maḥdūmu-'l-Mulk. So broad-minded was he in religious matters that he was commonly suspected of being a heretic. But the fact is that he was so credulous that he would implicitly trust any person, even a manifest heretic, who was inclined to asceticism, and would stand before him with joined hands, and regard anything he might say as an authoritative utterance.

They say that a heretic who pretended to be mysteriously attracted to God one day came upon the *Qāzī*, and that the *Qāzī* after his custom, stood before him with his hands joined in 85 reverence. The heretic, deluded wretch, said, "*Khizr*³ is always with me." The *Qāzī* fell at his feet saying, "Show him to me." The heretic replied, "I am at present in great anxiety over the marriage of my daughter, an affair which will cost me seven hundred *tankas*; when my anxiety is removed I will effect a meeting between you and *Khizr*." The *Qāzī* at once gave him seven hundred *tankas*. Two days later the man came to him and said, "Come that I may show you *Khizr*," and took him away with him to the river. Now the heretic was a very tall man, while the *Qāzī* was low of stature. The heretic walked into the river until the water reached his neck, and then stood still, and said to the *Qāzī*, "Come to me, for *Khizr* is here." The *Qāzī* replied, "I cannot swim; how can I come to you?" The heretic replied, "Well, I have shown you the place where *Khizr* is, if you cannot come to it it is no fault of mine." Many other stories,

¹ Vide *Āin-i-Akbarī*, i, 545, where he is styled '*Qarnāshī*' and '*Abbāsī*.' The *Ṭabaqāt* says that he was for some years *qāzī* of Lāhor.

² Literally, 'folk of the path,' i.e., those who follow the ceremonial ordinances, as opposed to the *Ṣūfīs*, who discard them.

³ Vide Hughes' *Dict. of Islām*, p. 272.

problems of fourteen different branches of knowledge were succinctly set forth. The other consisted of four *Maqāmahs* from a treatise in which the style of the *Maqāmātu'l-Ḥarīrī*¹ was imitated, which treatise he entitled *Qitūn*.² He told me that he had composed other works besides these. His consins, however, said that the treatise on fourteen different branches of knowledge and the *Qitūn* were written by Ḥakīm Zibriqī,³ who, having come to Jaunpūr, employed himself in collating books, together with the well-known⁴ Qaṣī *Shihābū'd-dīn*. These works, they said, found their way, in the course of time, to the library of *Shaiḫh* A'zam of Lakhnau, who obtained the title of *Ṣūnī-yi-Imām-i-A'zam*,⁵ and thence came into the hands of Miṣṣān Ilāhdād, who was a descendant of *Shaiḫh* A'zam:—and God knows the truth of the matter!

XIV. MİR SAYYID JALĀLU'D-DĪN-I-QĀDIRĪ,⁶ OF ĀGRA.

He was one of the greatest of the *Sayyids* of Āgra, and was pre-eminent in his piety and resignation to the Divine will. From his youth to the end of his life he lived in seclusion, avoiding the society of the wealthy⁷ and all pomps and ceremony, and in his capacity as deputy of his holiness, the *Ghaus*⁸ of the Everlasting God, the pole-star (of religion) fixed by the Lord, the inhabitant of that place which is beyond locality, *Shaiḫh* Muḥiyyū'd-dīn

¹ 'The assemblies of Ḥarīrī'; one of the Arabian classics.

² A Turkish word, signifying 'a border,' 'an edging of silk'; and hence, in analogy of the Arabic word حاشية, 'a supplement or commentary.' The aptness of the title will be understood if it be remembered that حریر (*harīr*) in Arabic means 'silk.'

³ MS. (A) has زبرقي (*Ziraqī*). I have not been able to find any mention of Zibriqī elsewhere.

⁴ MS. (B) has مسطور, 'above-mentioned.'

⁵ i.e., 'Second (only) to the greatest of the *Imāms* (Abū Ḥanīfah).'

⁶ The Qādiris are an order of *dervishes*. Vide p. 12, note 4.

⁷ MS. (A) has اغيار ('strangers') with اغنيا ('the wealthy') as a correction in the margin.

⁸ غوث (*ghaus*) means 'defender' or 'helper' and is a common title of Muḥammadan saints.



down to him through so many years was transferred to others. The Shaiikh, who was a man of great estate, lived in that province like a king, and the Emperor's regal jealousy, both on this account and on account of certain other events which happened, could not endure the Shaiikh's position, so he ordered him to leave India and to journey to Makkah, and the Shaiikh accordingly took formal leave of his Majesty during the march to Bāns-wāla,¹ and, after successfully performing the pilgrimage to Makkah, returned. Having accomplished his journey to the Hijāz, he paid his respects at Court, on his return, on the very day on which the Emperor had marched from Fathpūr towards Kabul against Muhammad Ḥakīm Mīrzā; but he would not conform to the ceremonies which have in these days been established by those who have accepted a new faith and have been recently converted to Islām. new followers of a new order of 88 things.

The Emperor, after studying the page of the Shaiikh's life and the lines of his forehead read there the signs of disaffection to himself, and commanded that the Shaiikh should be imprisoned in the fortress of Bakkar.² There he spent some years, and at last, in the year H. 1002 (A.D. 1593-94), owing to the efforts made on his behalf by certain courtiers who had his Majesty's confidence, he was summoned from Bakkar to the Imperial presence, and, in company with some other prisoners, such as Shaiikh Kamāl-i-Biyābānī, the impostor, some mention of whom has already been made,³ and the Qāzīs of Fathpūr, who had been imprisoned in Bakkar for fourteen years, owing to the machinations of Shaiikh Ibrāhīm-i-Cishtī,⁴ and whose release had been ordered

¹ In A.D. 1577.

² Bhakkar. Vide vol. ii, text, p. 300.

³ Vide vol. ii, text, pp. 300, 366.

⁴ Shaiikh Ibrāhīm was the son of Shaiikh Mūzā and elder brother of Shaiikh Salīm-i-Cishtī of Fathpūr Sikrī, to whose intercessions the birth of Sultān Salīm (Jahāngīr) was attributed. In A.H. 986 (A.D. 1578-79) he was made governor of Fathpūr Sikrī, and it was apparently while he held that post that he had the qāzīs of the town imprisoned. He died in A.H. 999 (A.D. 1590-91). Vide Āin-i-Akbarī, i, 402, and Nadāonī, vol. ii, text, p. 374 *et passim*.

by means of the intercession of Mirzā Nizāmu'd-din Ahmad,¹ he arrived at Court, and there they all paid their respects to his Majesty, and all, with the exception of the Shaikh, prostrated themselves. He, an old man of seventy years of age, utterly unaccustomed to the ceremonial of kingly courts and the correct fashion of waiting upon royal personages, made a slight inclination and a mere bow, after the old custom. The Emperor's displeasure with him was renewed, and the Mirzā was ordered to have a grant of three hundred *hīgas* of land in Bakkar made out to him, as *madad-i-ma'ūsh*.² and to despatch the Shaikh thither once more. Begum Pādshāh, the mother of his Majesty, busied herself in the ladies' apartments of the palace in interceding for the Shaikh, and said to the Emperor, "My son, he has an aged and decrepit mother in Ajmer, whose heart yearns to see her son again. How would it be if you were to give him leave to depart to Ajmer? He desires no *madad-i-ma'ūsh* from you." The Emperor would not accede to her request, and said, "Mother, he will start business afresh in the place to which he is now going, and people will present to him alms, presents, and complimentary gifts in plenty. He leads a number of men astray. In fine, let him summon his mother hither." This treatment of his mother was much bitterer to the Shaikh than was the mere going to Bakkar.

On the night on which the *Sadr-i-Jahān* summoned the compiler of these historical selections to the Imperial presence in connection with the Shaikh's resignation of his trusteeship of the 89 shrine in Ajmer, as has already been mentioned, the Emperor was perturbed in respect of that case, which he had himself brought forward, and refused to ratify the decree (with regard to the resignation), and retained the Shaikh in his service. He said to the *Sadr-i-Jahān*, "Where is that simple-hearted old man?" (meaning Shaikh Husain). I reminded him that he was in Lāhōr, and urged the *Sadr-i-Jahān*, since I myself was unworthy to hold such a blessed position, to have him appointed as the

¹ Author of the *Talqāt-i-Alibari*.

² A grant in aid of livelihood.

trustee of the shrine in that protected¹ city, and so restore to him his just due. But, since it is not in the nature of natives of India to work in the interests of their own brethren, or to trust one another, the efforts of the *Ṣadr-i-Jahān* availed neither in my case, unfortunate wretch that I am, nor in the case of *Shaiikh* Ḥusain. That aged man, whose sins have surely been forgiven by God, now lives in affliction and distress, in perturbation of spirit and in perplexity, seated in the nook of obscurity, unable to haunt the doors of the great ones of this world, or to obtain their influence and interest on his behalf: while at the same time the road of representation is closed to him, and all hopes² of the intercession of others in his behalf are ruined.

But, to continue: the *Shaiikh's* existence is a blessing and a boon to be highly prized by his contemporaries. I was not personally acquainted with him till recently, but now that he has returned from his pilgrimage to the Hijāz, and has suffered bonds, he appears to me to be a quantity of (heavenly) light, and an angel in bodily form. Never have I known him to speak of worldly matters, either in public or in private. He is ever employed in austerities, in worship, and in striving in the way of holiness, fasting continually and always watching at night. It is my hope that God (may He be praised and glorified!) will open to him the door of his desire, in accordance with the text, "Verily a difficulty shall be attended with ease, aye, verily a difficulty shall be attended with ease." It is my hope, too, that God will speedily recompense him for his afflictions with the blessing described in the couplet:—

Couplet.

When hardships press upon thee, think on the chapter "Have we not opened?"³

And the word "difficulty" lies between two repetitions of the word "ease,"

When thou thinkest on this rejoice.

¹ *Ḥiṣṣa* (*maḥṣūz*), protected, that is to say, from evil by the presence therein of Mu'inn-d-dīn Gishṭī's shrine.

² Literally, 'the house of intercession is ruined.'

³ The ninety-fourth chapter of the *Qur'ān*, from which the text is quoted.

I pray, too, that I, bondsman of this world as I am, may by
 90 the blessing of that leader of all the pious, attain salvation, that,
 being delivered from my purposeless pursuits, my wild talk,
 levity, folly, and futile scribbling, I may reach my "true native
 land" and abiding city, to meet there my departed wife, children,
 and relatives, and, above all my son, and that I may be enabled
 to employ what remains to me of life in some occupation that
 shall serve me hereafter.

Couplet.

My purpose is, if it be possible,
 So to employ myself as to dissipate my grief.

And since these lines were written just as the scroll of felicity
 was unfolding itself, and the blessed breeze of morn was begin-
 ning to blow, and the true dawn was just breaking, what wonder
 if the arrow of my disinterested prayer strikes the target of
 acceptance through the bounty of the Lord, on whose boundless
 mercy I have always trained myself to believe, and by whose free
 grace I have been nourished?

Couplet.

91 "He may well unfold the desire of my fortune, for which
 last night
 "I prayed, and the true dawn broke."¹

These complainings are out of place here, but what can I do?
 My soul and heart are so oppressed with weakness and un-
 easiness that these few bitter lamentations have escaped from
 the pipe of my tongueless pen. Please God I shall be excused
 and forgiven.

¹ This couplet is from an ode of Hāfiz, No. 236 in Colonel Jarrett's edition
 of Hāfiz. For صبح صادق in the second hemistich Colonel Jarrett's edition
 reads صبح آئین, without any variant. A fine MS. of Hāfiz in my possession
 reads صبح صادق. The same MS. reads گویا, or rather, as it is written, گویا,
 for غالباً in the first hemistich. This reading does not commend itself to me.
 The Cawnpore edition of Hāfiz (1902) reads آمین for آئین or صادق.

Couplet.

"I am not one to weep from grief of heart.

But this load of grief heavily oppresses my heart."

✓ XVI. SHAIKH 'ABDU-'L-QĀDIR.¹

He was an inhabitant of Uch, and was the delight of the heart and the apple of the eye of his holiness Shaikh Ḥāmid-i-Qādirī: may God make his soul fragrant!

At the time when that holy man (may God the most High have mercy upon him!) was in Āgra in the days when Bairām Khān, the Khānkhānān, was in power. I was a student, but I had not the good fortune of waiting on him. When Bairām Khān, owing to the machinations of malevolent and perverse persons, the chief of whom was Shaikh Gadā'ī,² became puffed up with pride on account of his transient high position, he began to regard the holy Shaikh with disfavour, and summoned him from Uch. The Shaikh was much displeased, and declared that the order augured ill for his persecutor, and there happened to Bairām Khān what did happen.³ But Shaikh Muḥammad Ghauṣ used to attribute the subsequent confusion in the affairs of Bairām Khān to his own journey to Court (in obedience to a summons).

When the holy Shaikh Ḥāmid returned to Multan his soul, now resting on high, conveyed itself in the sacred shrine to the neighbourhood of the attendants of the sublime court of heaven and his pure body was committed to the ground in the village of Ḥāmidpūr, a dependency of Multān.

There had been for many years a dispute between Shaikh 'Abdu-'L-Qādir and his younger brother, Shaikh Mūṣā, regarding the title to the Shaikh-dom, and Shaikh Mūṣā, consequently,

¹ Vide *Āin-i-Akbarī*, i, 544.

² Vide *supra* No. V.

³ Scil. his removal from his position by Akbar. Vide vol. ii, text, p. 36. As a matter of fact many things contributed to Bairam's fall. He was unfortunate in having the whole interest of the family of Akbar's foster-mother arrayed against him.

spent most of his time at Court. One night when the Shaiikh 'Abdu-'l-Qādir was at Fathpūr oil of poppies was offered to him, and he declared the use of it to be unlawful. The Emperor was displeased with him on account of what he said on this occasion and one day in the hall of audience at Fathpūr, after the congregational prayers had been recited, the Shaiikh busied himself with his supererogatory devotions. The Emperor said, "Shaiikh, perform your supererogatory devotions in your own house." The 92 Shaiikh replied, "Sire, in this kingdom your commands have no force." The Emperor was much displeased and said, "What an ignorant fellow is this Shaiikh." He then said, "Since you do not desire what my power can give you, remain no longer in my kingdom." The Shaiikh immediately left the assembly, resigned his *maḥad-i-ma'ūsh*, and ceased to prosecute his case against his younger brother. He retired to Uech, the burial place of his revered predecessors, and, in Shaiikh Mūsā's absence, removed the bones of the holy Shaiikh Ḥāmid to Uech, and followed the sublime and laudable rule of his predecessors. He now walks, with the footsteps of resignation, in the way of holy poverty, and receives so much in the way of alms that he has no need of any *maḥad-i-ma'ūsh*. Now Shaiikh Mūsā, after all the years which he has spent in piety, devotion, holy endeavour, and saintliness, has become a secular follower of the Emperor, has adopted the profession of arms, and, having resigned his former service, has now become a commander of five hundred horse. This is similar to the story of a man who became a Musalmān, to whom one said, "You have done well, there were too few Musalmāns without you!"

So long as Shaiikh Mūsā was with the Emperor he would, at the stated times for prayer, whether he were in the public or the private hall of audience, himself utter the call to prayer, and would then lead the congregational prayers in the presence of the Khalīfah of the age, and none could gainsay him.

1 Badāonī apparently means to be sarcastic, insinuating that there were plenty of *ci-devant* holy men who had relinquished the service of God for the service of Akbar. With reference to what follows, however, he may mean that the imperial service was benefited by the accession of at least our true Muslim.

When news was brought to Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Qādir of his brother's new rank at Court, he said, "He well deserves the command of a thousand horse. Why did he not enter the imperial service before, and receive a *jāgīr* in Multān, instead of causelessly quarrelling for so long?"

Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Qādir, well content with the honour and high place which he has gained through holy poverty, follows the rule of his noble ancestors and, sitting as their successor, employs himself in guiding and teaching the people, and spends his precious time in worship, in the practice of severe austerities, and in holy endeavour, so that his leadership in the religious world is established.¹

Couplet.

We will not deprive ourselves of the honour of holy poverty 93
and contentment :

Tell the king that our daily bread has been appointed for us
by God.

✓XVII. SHAIKH KABIR.

He was the spiritual successor of his holiness Shaikh Bahā'u-d-dīn Zakariyā² (may God sanctify his soul!). The people of Multan gave him the title of *Vali* (saint), and so great was their faith in him that he could, if he chose, assemble a thousand horsemen in one day. He employed his time so busily that he took his meals at variable times, as it were, and owing to the redness of his eyes, caused really by his night watches, the common people believed him to be a drunkard.

"So much is my own blood my drink that all night long I
am beside myself.

"And for this reason men charge me with wine-bibbing."

Nevertheless, Shaikh Mūsā-i-Qādirī, who has been mentioned above, always attributed the redness of Shaikh Kabir's eyes to actual drunkenness, and he would continually say, "I fear that

¹ Literally, 'has been stamped as current coin.'

² Vide vol. i, trans. Ranking, 133 and note 2; and *Īn-i-Akbarī* iii. 362 and note 3. Badāonī does not, of course, mean that Kabir was the immediate successor of this saint, who died in A.D. 1267-68. In the *Ṭabaqāt* Kabir is said to have been an actual descendant of Bahā'u-d-dīn Zakariyā.

the saints of old, too, whose morals we read of in books, were like Shāikh Kabīr, who is well known as a "Saint," and that the old poets, also, were like Shāikh Faiẓī and the rest of them." God forbid!

I saw Shāikh Kabir once at Fathpūr, when I was with Ḥusain Khān, and observed his dignity of appearance, and I firmly believe that inwardly he was a knower of hidden secrets.

(A fragment¹ from Sādī.)

"Whomsoever thou seest clad in the garments of holiness,

"Believe him to be holy, and a pious man.

"If thou knowest not his actual state,

"What business has the police officer within the house?"

His death took place in the year H 995 (A.D. 1587) and he is buried in the burial place of his venerable forefathers—may blessing and peace be upon them².

✓ XVIII. MĪR SAYYID 'ALL OF LĀHŪRĀNA.

He is one of the faithful men of this age, and is among the greatest of the spiritual representatives of Shāikh 'Abdu'r-Razzāq of Jhānjhāna, a noted Shāikh, who was widely venerated by ecstatic mystics, and followed by those who had acquired learning and perfection.

The Mīr passed his eightieth year, and advanced well into his ninth decade, and throughout his precious life he never set foot outside his house once he had received authoritative permission to give religious instruction. He was resorted to by the great, and by all, both rich and poor. Many miracles are related of him, and whosoever was honoured by the Mīr's companionship, and in all sincerity enrolled himself among his disciples, obtained grace to avoid all forbidden things and wanton pastimes, to ally himself to the Fount of all grace, and to attain his true object. Among such was Muhammad Ja'far, the relative of Mirzā Nizāmu'd-din Ahmad, an orthodox youth, but polluted with debauchery. When he travelled from Lāhōr to take up the

¹ ashb. The text does not give the source of the quotation. I have inserted it from MS. (A). The verses are well known.

*faujdarī*¹ of the *pargana* of *Shamsābād*,² which was in the *Mirzā's jāgīr*, and reached *Lūdhiana*, he enrolled himself among *Mir Sayyid 'Alī's* disciples, and, by God's grace, repented of his sins, and, leaving aside all³ things that should be shunned,⁴ and everything that is forbidden, frequently begged the *Mir* to offer up a prayer⁵ that he might attain to the dignity of martyrdom. The *Mir* offered up prayers in accordance with his request, and in the course of three or four months *Muhammad Ja'far* became so well known for his piety, abstinence, asceticism, and devotion, that he became an object of envy⁶ to many of the pious, and he, who used with much pride and pomp, and with many attendants, to recite his night prayers, now drew water for his ceremonial ablutions without the help of any servant, and aroused nobody.

In a short time the *Mir's* prayer was answered, and in a village 95 in the *pargana* of *Shamsābād* *Muhammad Ja'far* attained to the dignity of martyrdom,⁷ fighting manfully against the warlike infidels.

In that same year I waited on *Mir Sayyid 'Alī*, on the occasion on which I, in company with *Mirzā Nizāmu-'d-dīn Aḥmad*, obtained leave to visit my beloved home. The conversation turned on the martyrdom of *Ja'far*, and *Mir Sayyid 'Alī* said, "It is admissible for martyrs to satisfy their love of pleasure in

¹ The *faujdar* was the chief military and police officer of a *pargana*, or 'hundred.'

² Headquarters of a *pargana* in the *sarkār* of *Qannauj* in the *ṣūba* of *Agra*, vide *Āin-i-Akbarī*, ii, 185. Now a town in the *Qāimganj tahsil* of the *Farrukhābād District* in the U. P., vide *Imp. Gazetteer (new series)*, xii, 229.

³ جمع, omitted from the text, though both MSS. have it.

⁴ محذورات MS. (A) has محذورات which is not so good a reading.

⁵ فاتحة the opening chapter of the *Qur'ān* which is recited as a prayer with intention.

⁶ غبطة *Badāoni* always used the word in this wrong sense, vide *supra* p. 30, note 2, also vol. i. trans. Ranking, 395 and 543, note 4.

⁷ In A.H. 999 (A.D. 1590-91), vide vol. ii. text, p. 376. *Muhammad Ja'far* was the son of *Nizāmu-d-dīn's* maternal aunt.

this world as well (as in the next), as is certain from the following text which occurs in the glorious word of God :—‘ Nay, rather, alive with their Lord they are provided for, rejoicing.’”¹ He then said, in this connection, “ There was a newly married youth who met his death by martyrdom in this neighbourhood, and after his death he used to return always on Friday nights, in appearance the same as when he was alive, and pass the night with his wife in conjugal intercourse.” I said, “ They say too that deceased martyrs are capable of begetting children in these circumstances, and it is well known that this is a fact. In the *pargana* town of Basāwar, which was my birthplace, an Afghān named Ishāq suffered martyrdom but used to consort with his newly-married wife after his death, visiting her every Friday night. He ordered her to keep the matter secret, but shortly afterwards, when the woman became pregnant, she was accused of misconducting herself. On being much pressed she revealed the whole matter to her mother-in-law, Ishāq’s mother, and one Friday night showed her the form of her son. The mother cried out, calling her son by name, and tried to embrace him. The shape vanished, and from that day forth Ishāq appeared no more. His mother dug a well and named it after him, and the well exists to this day. How can these things be ?” Mīr Sayyid ‘Alī answered, “ They are possible, and they are not contrary to reason.” Mīrzā Nizāmu-’d-dīn Ahmad said, “ It may be that a *jinn* appeared in the outward form of the Martyr.” The Mīr said, “ A *jinn* has not the power to appear in the semblance of the bodies of prophets, saints, pious men, and martyrs.”

The death of the Mīr occurred in the year H. 1002 (A.D. 1593-94), or H. 1003 (A.D. 1594-95). One of the learned men 96 of the time found that the words, “ The religious leader of mankind,”² gave the date of his death. The Mīr’s worthy son, Mīr Sayyid Maḥmūd, has succeeded him.

¹ بل احياء عند ربهم يرزقون *Qur’ān* iii. part of *verses* 162, 163.

² شيخ انا م. This chronogram gives the date A.D. 1002 (A.D. 1593-94).

XIX. SHAIKH MU'IN.

He was the grandson of Maulānā Mu'in the preacher, a well-known man, the author of the *Ma'ārij-u-n-nubūwah*.¹ Shaikh Mu'in (of whom I am writing) was an angel in human form. He was employed for some time, under the *farmān* of the *Khalīfah* of the age, as *Qāḍī* of Lāhōr. They say that he never decided a case, and that if a plaintiff pressed for the decision of his suit he would with much insistence and lamentation and with protestations of his own incompetence, say, "For God's sake compromise the matter between you, so that I may avoid responsibility, and have no cause for repentance or shame." He would also say, "You both know all about the case; it is my misfortune that I, who know nothing of it, am left alone to decide between two who knew all about it. Do not, then, give me cause to be ashamed before the Court of God, the Most High!" If a woman prayed for a separation from her husband on the ground of his absence from her he would provide her with means of livelihood to the extent of his ability, and would say, "Take this much for your subsistence and await your husband's return. do not separate from him."

He devoted his subsistence allowance, over which he had exclusive rights, to the pay of scribes, whom he used to employ to copy valuable books, and he used to collate the copies and have them bound, and would then present them to students. This was his principal occupation and employment throughout his life, and he must have distributed thousands of such volumes to the people.

In the year H. 995 (A.D. 1587) he took his departure from this world, the sojourning place of toil, for the garden of eternity, leaving two sons, one of whom is famous in all riots and combats for his skill in wrestling, while the other is a noted pigeon-flier. On account of these accomplishments their names were mentioned the Emperor, and he was a spectator of their performances. 97

¹ The text has *Mī'rāj*, but both MSS. have *Ma'ārij*, which reading I have adopted. The title of the book, which I have not found mentioned elsewhere means "Steps to prophet-hood."

"The living comes forth from the dead and the dead comes forth from the living."¹

XX. MİR 'ABDU-'L-LATĪF OF QAZVIN.

He was a *Saifī Sayyid* descended from *Hasan*. He was well-versed both in those branches of knowledge which depend upon the exercise of the reasoning faculties and in those which depend upon the exercise of the memory. Every step in his pedigree is historical, as *Ḥairatī*, the famous poet, wrote in an ode in praise of *Qāzī Yahyā*, the venerable father of the *Mīr* :—

"Tales of history should be heard from his lips,
For no one has seen his like in history."

He or one of his relations found the date of the perversion of *Shāh Isma'il* in the words, "the untrue religion." When he was arrested in consequence he said, "I said 'the religion' wrongly,"² and obtained his freedom by this artifice. The *Saifī Sayyids* were all bigoted *Sunnīs*, and *Shāh Tahmāsp* deprived them of their families and estates on this charge, and this was the cause of *Mīr 'Abdu-'l-Latīf's* coming to India. I heard this from *Mīrzā Ghiyāsu-'d-din 'Alī*,³ who is entitled *Āṣaf Khān*. When *Mīr 'Abdu-'l-Latīf* and his family fell into disfavour with the (Persian) king, *Mīr 'Alā'u-'d-daulah*, the writer of the *Tazkirah*, who was the younger brother of *'Abdu-'l-Latīf* and had been brought up by him, and who used to call him *Ḥaẓrat-i-Āqā*, with some object of his own in view wrote an ode, declaring his complete separation and estrangement from his brother. One of the hemistichs of that ode is as follows :—

"I utter curses on *Yahyā* and on *Ḥaẓrat-i-Āqā*."⁴

98 People said to him, "The *Mīr* brought you up by his side, why

¹ That is to say, the dead *Shāikh* lives in his works while from his living sons proceeds nothing but dead works.

² i.e., 'I was wrong in calling it a religion at all.' *Shāh Isma'il's* 'perversion' was to the *Shī'ah* faith.

³ The text omits *'Alī*, though both MSS. have it, and it is correct. Vide *Īn-i-Akbarī*, i, 433.

⁴ *Mīr 'Alā'u-'d-daulah* had apparently become a *Shī'ah*.

have you insulted him?" He answered, "Do you not see that I have shown my gratitude to him by mentioning him by the title of *Hazrat-i-Īqā*, while I have mentioned my father by his name only, without any honorific title?" To be brief, the depraved heretics worked on the mind of *Shāh Tahmāsp*, and completely alienated him from *Mir Yahyā*, and the *Shāh* sent a royal messenger, a man of devilish aspect, and in appearance like the guardians of hell, from *Āzarbāijān* with a written order which ran as follows—"Since *Mir Yahyā* and his son *Mir 'Abdu'l-Latīf* are full of zeal for the *Sunni* persuasion, and are the chief cause of the staunchness of the *Sunnis* of *Qazvin*, therefore take both these men, and collect all the *Sunni* books which can be found within the limits of their jurisdiction, and send them to me, and take their wives and families to *Iṣfahān*." Thereupon *Mir 'Alā'u'd-daulah* who was then in *Āzarbāijān* sent a swift messenger with a letter to this effect, and the royal messengers arrested *Mir Yahyā* who was known as "*Yahyā the innocent*,"¹ and he was kept in *Iṣfahān* in bonds for eighteen months, until he was released at once from those bonds and from the bonds of this world of vexation and anguish. *Mir 'Abdu'l-Latīf* sought safety in flight and withdrew himself for a time to the mountains, and, relying on the promise of his late Majesty, came to India where he was honoured by being received into the imperial service and was gladdened by the emoluments which he received through the boundless liberality and generosity of the emperor. His pre-ent majesty also took some lessons from him in various passages of the *Dirān* of *Khāja Hāfiz* and other books.

On the 5th *Rajab* in the year H. 981 (Oct. 31, 1573) in the new town of *Fathpūr* *Mir 'Abdu'l-Latīf* took his departure for paradise, the abode of bliss, and obtained the everlasting blessings of the heavenly damsels and mansions, and was buried on the ramparts of the fortress of *Ajmer* close to *Mir Sayyid Husain*. "*Khīng-sarrār*"² *Qāsim-i-Arsalān* found the chronogram

¹ Or 'the divinely protected from error.'

² 'The rider of the grey horse.' *Mir Sayyid Husain* is a saint who has a shrine at *Ajmer*.

99 "The glory of the race of Yas" for the date of his death.

Mir 'Abdu-'l-Laṭīf's fortunate, noble, and orthodox son Mirzā Ghīyāṣu-'d-dīn 'Alī-yi-Ākhund, entitled Naqīb Khān,² who is endowed with angelic qualities and adorned with the graces and perfection of learning, has no equal either in Arabia or in Persia in his knowledge of works on travel, of history, and of chronicles, as has been said before. The author is more intimate with him than with any of the courtiers, and was his schoolfellow from childhood. He is now strenuously employed, night and day, in the imperial service, and for a whole generation past has been engaged in reading works on history, books of story, and anecdotes, and legends, both in Persian and in Hindi, which latter works have in these days been translated. One may say indeed that he has become a part of the life of the *Khālīfah* of the age, who never dreams of losing his companionship for a moment. Of late he has been suffering from slight fever, but it is hoped that he will be blessed with a rapid recovery and complete restoration to health. Since the good are everywhere acceptable may they live long! As for the evil ones of the age, what need is there to utter prayers for them? The evil that they do brings its own reward and evil befalls the tongue which pollutes itself by the mention of these nameless scoundrels.

XXI. KHĀJA MUHAMMAD YAḤYĀ.

He was a descendant in the fourth generation of the holy Khāja Ahrār³ (may God sanctify his soul!). He was well acquainted with the seven styles of penmanship, and was a professor of that art. He had great practice and wonderful skill in medicine and therapeutics. His excellent qualities and dis-

¹ The chronogram gives the date 981.

² Vide *Āin-i-Akbarī*, i, 441. *Ākhund* means 'theologian,' 'preacher,' or 'tutor.' Naqīb Khān was made a commander of fifteen hundred at the beginning of Jahāngīr's reign, and died in A.D. 1614. He was buried at Ajmer, beside his wife, in the enclosure of Mu'īnu-d-dīn Qishtī's tomb.

³ The renowned saint Khāja Nāṣiru-d-dīn 'Ubaidu-'llāh Ahrār. Vide *Āin-i-Akbarī*, i, 322.

position were an inheritance which he had received from his forbears, and although he was little given to discourse he exercised hospitality, and whatever he received from his *jūqār* was 100 spent in furnishing the table of friendship. He was the benefactor both of high and low. When the new heresy was introduced and the influence of the vilest of men waxed great he withdrew from this society and obtained leave to perform the pilgrimage to the *Hijāz*. He was made "leader of the pilgrimage" and was sent on his way to the holy places with ample store for the journey. When he had attained the felicity of completing the pilgrimage he returned, and passed his precious time in Agra, in devotion and the service of the Most High God, which alone is the object for which man was created, until the importunate messenger of doom seized the garment of his holy life, and invited him to the abode of nearness to God and the threshold of His greatness, so that having obtained his release from this abode of distraction and darkness he entered into close fellowship with the faithful, the martyrs, and the pious.

Complet.

They call to thee from the highest heaven,
I know not what more thou hast to do with this world
of snares.

XXII. SHAIKH HUSAIN OF BADAKHSHĀN.

He was one of the spiritual successors of the lord Shaikh Husain of Kh'arazm (may God sanctify his soul!). Religious ecstacy, overpowering him, used to reduce him to a state like inebriety. Daily, after early morning prayers, the *Miṣbūḥ*, written by Shaikh Rashid (may God sanctify his soul!), used to be read in his venerable assembly, after the rule of the *Kibraurī* order, and he would then fall into a religious ecstacy, and in like manner he was assiduous in reading the *Maṣnawī* of the *Maularī-yi-Ma'navī*.¹ His feet were firm in the path of the most pure law, and his speech sprang over from spiritual knowledge, and

¹ Maulana Jalāl-d-din-i-Rumi.

affected the hearts of his hearers. If at times one would praise him he would say, "It is yourself that you are regarding."

He stayed some time in Badāon for the purpose of seeing some 101 Turks who had attached themselves to him as their spiritual leader, and made that place resplendent with the light of his presence, and the bounty of his blessed companionship reached the inhabitants of that district. Returning thence he came to Āgra, and thence hastened to the court of the great God.

XXIII. SHAIKH 'ABDU-'L-QĀDIR.

He is one of the descendants of Shaiikh 'Abdu-'l-Qādir the second, of Uch, who was entitled his holiness Ghaus-i-Rabbānī (may God be graciously pleased with them!). Shaiikh 'Abdu-'l-Qādir and his younger brother, Shaiikh Ilāh Bakhsh, were both educated in piety, devotion, and temperance, and were distinguished for their mental perfections. They lived for some time in Fathpūr, and the emperor, at the time when religious controversy waxed warm, extended his patronage to Shaiikh Ilāh Bakhsh, and appointed him to Gujarāt with the title of *Sadr*, and sent him to Shāhbāz Khān.¹ This was, in fact, banishment. The Shaiikh, however, rendered good service to the state, and constantly² sent express messengers with representations containing full news³ of the rebels, and other matters, so that a commission was issued, granting him the rank of commander of three hundred. But just then the messenger of death delivered in his ear the joyful message, "Return thou to thy Lord," and he responded cheerfully to the messenger of God. His elder brother, Shaiikh 'Abdu-'l-Qādir, was then banished to the glorious city of Makkah, and at the time when the Khānkhānān, son of Bairām Khān,⁴ and Mirzā Nizāmu-'d-din Ahmad had the control

¹ Shāhbāz Khān Kambū; vide *Āin-i-Akbarī* i, 399. Shaiikh Ilāh Bakhsh was apparently sent to Gujarāt in 1578-79, at which time Shāhbāz Khān was in Western Rājputāna.

² پياي as in both MSS. The text has پياي.

³ اخبار as in both MSS. The text has اختيار.

⁴ Mirzā 'Abdu-r-Rahīm: vide *Āin-i-Akbarī* i, 331. It was probably in 1583 that Shaiikh 'Abdu-'l-Qādir was sent to Makkah.

of affairs in Gujarāt, he went thither, and having obtained from them provisions for his journey and attached himself to a company of pilgrims he obtained the glory of performing the pilgrimage of the *Hajj*. Thence he returned to his own native place, Lāhōr, where he now lives,¹ engaged in the service of God and in devotion, and remaining steadfast in the same.

XXIV. SHAIKH ARŪ'L-MĀ'ĀLI.

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He is the nephew, the son-in-law and the spiritual successor of his holiness the true spiritual guide, the abode of saintship, him who is seated in the chair of unity, lord of the sword of might and the troop of power of the Eternal One, the manifestation of the perfections of Muḥammad, Miyān Shaiikh Dā'ūd² (may God sanctify his soul!). He is, in the swift pursuit of righteousness, the phoenix of the age, a pattern in all states and assemblies of holy poverty and self-effacement. If mention be made of those favoured by God it is his name which is most appropriately mentioned, and if the talk be of those who excel their fellows it is his name which is first spoken. He is a man of lofty soul who has completely effaced himself in the love which he bears to his spiritual guide, a man of noble mind who knows no other occupation than the adoration of his saintly preceptor. He has himself written verses to that purport:—

Couplets.

“I am ever inebriated with the cup of love:
What should I know of ‘this’ and ‘that’—
I who worship Dā'ūd?”



“How can this frozen heart be warmed by the speech
of all?”

Nay, it requires the breath of Dā'ūd, which can soften
even iron.”

¹ In A.H. 1004 (A.D. 1595-96).

² Vide p. 47.

"I sit on the throne of poverty, now that I have attained
my desire,
I reign like Sulaimān, for I am heart and soul the
slave of Dā'ūd."

Quatrain.

"Lord, grant to me one glance of the eye which I
desire,¹

Grant to me freedom alike from being and non-existence,

And although I be not worthy of this high fortune,

Grant to me one atom of the love of Shaikh Dā'ūd."²

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One of his sayings is this:—"Oh, Abū-'l-Ma'ālī, be the slave of the Lord, the Most High, and be not the slave of money and jewels!" It is said that in the year of his auspicious birth he was taken to his holiness, the universally respected³ Miyān Shaikh Dā'ūd (may God sanctify his tomb!) and that his worthy father asked the Miyān to give a name to his auspicious offspring. His holiness the Miyān said, "Let his name be Shāh⁴ Abū-'l-Ma'ālī." As this name was very uncommon in India the bestowal of it has been regarded as a prophecy of the return of the Mughuls,⁵ and of the appearance of the army of the emperor Humāyūn (may his grave be fragrant!) and a year had not passed when that emperor, who has now obtained forgiveness of his sins, returned to India, and (the spiritual influence of) Abū-'l-Ma'ālī placed him who had thus conformed to that influence in possession of the country of the Panjab. The words "Abū-'l-Ma'ālī, the Worshipper of God" were found to give the date of his birth. The few flowing verses quoted below, which are to be interpreted mystically and not literally, are some of the products of his bright genius.

¹ Or 'of my true object of desire.'

² In both MSS. the second and fourth hemistichs of this quatrain are transposed.

³ Literally, 'the pole-star of pole-stars.'

⁴ Sic.

⁵ Because it was more common among them.

A fragment.

Ghurbatī¹ speaks in his religious ecstasy,
 An ecstasy which is indeed altercation without speech.
 It were impossible to describe the condition of his love,
 Yet to refrain from doing so is another impossibility.

Ghurbatī! Make thy life a sacrifice to Him,
 For the felicity of union with Him is not bes-
 towed as a worthless gift.

Keep the mention of love in thine heart, and open not
 thy lips.
 Keep the mouth of this flask well closed, lest (cold)
 air should enter it.

Ghurbatī! Raise the cry of 'I am God!'² and fear 104
 not the stake,
 For rope and stake are the means of ascent in this path.

That which we have seen and known of that Soul of
 Souls
 (We learnt) not to repeat, but to see and to know.

The following copy of a letter is one of his wonderful epistles
 which he sent to me in Lāhor :—

Verses.

I increased my desire and my heart is in grief,
 And within my bowels a fire is kindled.
 When will the absent return from their long journey ?³

* * * *

¹ The *taḥallus* or poetical name of Abu-'l-Ma'ālī.

² The reference is to Maṣṣūr, vide p. 37, note 7.

³ These verses should be completed by a fourth hemistich, which is want-
 ing in the text and the MSS.

"My dear one,—At this time of dejection in my separation from every friend and stranger I had come to regard the news even of those who¹ asked after the well-being of all as a letter-carrier and messenger, and used to hope for greetings and a message, when suddenly your affectionate letter took the place of a prescription for the restoration to health of those cast down with melancholy at separation from their friends, and redoubled my desire to see you, and my affection. Now the verses of that holy man of the *Qādiri* order, the seething of whose waves of eloquence astonishes and bewilders the soul, expel the anguish of my heart, and I beg that you will excuse me (for quoting them):—

Ho, ye (who hearken)! I wonder at all men.

And in my drunkenness I see neither that which is before me nor that which is behind.

And there is nothing, I swear by God, in my bowels but desire for you,

My heart seeth you, as though I saw from your eyes.

From my grave whisper in the ears of my absent friends
That they are the objects of my regard both in life and death.

When Munkir and Nakir shall come to me

I shall answer to Nakir at the time of his coming,
and to Munkir.

And will say 'Question not me, but another' concerning them, for I am verily their friend,

And the bond of my love for them has suffered no change.

We all convey salutations to all of you.

Written by the humble Abū-'l-Ma'ālī."

And in another letter he wrote the following couplet:—

"As for that dear one who nightly moveth near me,
Blest will be the day when he appears clearly before me."

¹ Both MSS. insert (' and ') here.

“Salutations blended with the desire of seeing you and flattered like the banners of the *Dā’ūdiyyah* branch of the *Qādirīyyah* order are sent to you. Know that your friend has important business with Maulānā ‘Abdu’l-Ghafūr and Shaikh ‘Umar, which can be settled by a moment’s attention from you. If you can spare any of your precious time to bring it about it will, in truth, be most fruitful in benefits. My blessing.”

XXV. MAULĀNĀ JALĀL OF TALĀ.

Talā is a famous quarter of Lāhōr. The Maulānā is a relative of Hājī Mahdī, who was one of the most famous Shaikhs. He is now one of the most learned men of the time, and has been appointed as a teacher at Lāhōr. He is a pupil of Mullā Isma‘il of Ucch, and has also received instruction from other teachers. He is a most expert lapidary, possesses great acumen, and has much store of learning in all branches of knowledge, both those which call for the exercise of the reasoning faculty and those which depend on the memory. They say that he has been engaged in teaching since he was eight years old. He has a good delivery and speaks unambiguously so that he is able readily to convey to the understanding of his pupils the sense of arguments on knotty points of speculative and traditional science. He is kind-hearted, pious and religious, and has the *Qur’ān* by heart. He is endowed with noble qualities. The correction and arrangement of the Quranic exegesis¹ of Shaikh Faizī is principally his work. His age is between fifty and sixty.

Couplet.

What of argument regarding knowledge? Though it travel as 106
far as *Fargad*.²

The mention of the name of Maulānā Jamāl-u’d-dīn Muḥammad will accompany it.

XXVI. MAULĀNĀ ‘ABDU’-SH-SHAKĪR OF LĀHŌR.

He is a most eminent and distinguished sage, and well known

¹ The سواطع الإلهام (‘rays of inspiration’).

² One of two bright stars near the North Pole.

for the vigour of his understanding and his natural acumen. His belief in the Shāikhs is unshaken, and the firmness of his confidence in these men is wonderful. Most of his precious time is expended in perusing the works of this class of men, and he employs his life in the recitation of supererogatory prayers and petitions and in the perusal of the *Qur'ān*, and whatever comes to his hand is at the disposal of the poor and needy. At the time when the controversy with the *ʿUlamā* and the Shāikhs took place he was banished,¹ and having been appointed to be *Qāzī* of Jaunpūr he was sent thither. When he joined the imperial Court at the time when it was at Ilāhābad² the *Qāzī*-ship of Jaunpūr was bestowed on the Ottoman *Qāzī-zāda*, an accomplished man of pleasant disposition and adorned with many mental perfections. Since that time Maulānā *ʿAbdu-sh-Shakūr* has remained there in retirement, engaged in teaching and imparting knowledge, contenting himself with what is sufficient for subsistence, averse from covetousness, far removed from worldly perils and fears, and near to the salvation of faith.

XXVII. SHAIKH KABIR, SON OF SHAIKH MUNAWWAR.³

He is the successor of his respected father. He is a young man who in childhood attained to perfection and excelled holy men. If in these latter days there be a son who is better than was his father it may be said that it is he who has attained this
 107 condition. He prosecuted his studies in most of those branches of knowledge which are included in the ordinary curriculum under his father, and his respected father-in-law, *Miyān Saʿdu-llāh Bani Isrāʾil*, and subsequently made the society and companionship of his fellows the rule of his life, and became a

¹ In A.D. 1679. *Iʿide* vol. ii, text, p. 277, where *ʿAbdu-sh-Shakūr* is called *Qauldār*, i.e., wearer of a *darriqh*'s robe.

² In A.D. 1683. *Iʿide* vol. ii, text, p. 334.

³ Shāikh Munawwar was born at Lāhor and was noted for his memory and learning. When the *ʿUlamā* of Lāhor were banished in 1579 he was made *Ṣadr* of Mālwa. He was afterwards imprisoned in *Gwāliyār*, where he died in A.D. 1602-03. Shāikh Kabir himself died at *Aḥmadābād* in *Gujarāt* in A.D. 1617.

courtier. May the most Holy God (be He exalted!) grant him repentance for his indulgence in opium, his pride, and his lying and boasting. At the time when, in accordance with the imperial order, he accompanied his father to the *pirgana* of Bajwāra¹ and the spurs of the northern mountains, and was employed in the administration of that district, he wrote a letter to me from which the degree of perfection to which he, as a man, had attained may be inferred. That letter was as follows :—

Poetry

I had a heart by means of which I enjoyed life, but my heart perished from me owing to the change which it suffered.

“ May the attendants of that possessor of a sublime disposition, that resort of excellence, be in good health. Oh, my lord! The concerns of my heart and soul, that is to say the only true concerns of a man, are firmly established on the threshold of sincere affection; but my earthly body (may the dust of the world be on its head!) consorts with the birds and beasts of the wilderness of superfluity,² nay, by God ' it consorts with a multitude from the sight of which the very birds and beasts could not choose but flee. Glory be to God ' I know not where I may find a remedy. My vile spirit now knows what a blessing health is. From the time when I first came to years of discretion to this day, when I have reached my fortieth year, all my endeavours have been directed towards the companionship of the most spiritually-minded men, wherein I might seek a remedy for my spiritual imperfections and the diseases of my soul, and now zeal for the Supreme and jealous God (may His majesty be exalted!) having affected me has brought on me a sore affliction, which

¹ There were two *pirganas* of this name. One was in the *Āgra sarkār* of the *ṣuba* of *Āgra* (*Am*, ii, 182) and the other was in the *Beth Jālandhar Dūāb sarkār* of the *ṣuba* of *Lāhor* (*Am*, ii, 316). The latter is the town mentioned here. It is now a town in the District and *taḥsil* of *Hoshiyārpur* in the *Panjab*. Vide '*Imperial Gazetteer of India*' (new series), vi, 220.

² کثرت The writer perhaps means the wilderness of the vulgar crowd.

none but He can cure. Cheerfulness,¹ contentment, and the quiet enjoyment of health have all been snatched from me. You, O Maulavī, will surely have experienced the magnanimous and affectionate solicitude of the Nawwāb Fayyāzi,² that most learned and most wise man, unique in this age (may God enrich us from his perfection, and may He bestow on us the profitable honour of his discourse !), and you must have recognized it as one of the greatest of the Lord's benefits, and have returned thanks for this great gift. At the time when prayers are answered put up a petition for the needs of your slave. Salutations to you. May the attendants of the sympathetic Miyān Ahmad, the marvel of the age, be in good health, and believe me to be desirous of reunion."

XXVIII. SHAIKH SA'DU-'LLĀH, THE GRAMMARIAN.³

Biyāna⁴ is one of the districts in the eastern portion of India. The Shaiikh from his childhood was in the service of Shaiikh Muḥammad Ghaṣṣ,⁵ and passed his time with him in fasts of forty days⁶ and in exorcism, and subsequently himself continued these practices. He built a hospice in the district of Biyāna and was for many years resorted to by students and followers of the religious life. He employed himself in the instruction and spiritual guidance of such men. In knowledge of syntax he had no equal in his time. For seventy years he never broke his fast save on

¹ شفای وقت in both MSS. The text has 'remedy for my days.' I have followed the MSS.

² The poet Shaiikh Abū-l-Faḡ Faḡi, Fayyāzi, elder brother of Shaiikh Abū-l-Faḡl. Vide *infra* chap. iv, No. cvii.

³ Vide *Āin-i-Akbari*, i, 545, where he is called 'Maulānā Sa'du-'llāh.'

⁴ Then a *pargana* town in the *sarkār* and *sūba* of Āgra (*Āin-i-Akbari*, ii, 182), now the headquarters of a *taḡāil* in the Bharatpūr State in Eastern Rajputana (*Imperial Gazetteer of India* (new series), vii, 637, s.v. Bayāna). In the *Āin* (ii, 180) Biyāna, which is a very ancient city, is mentioned as having been formerly the capital of a province of which Āgra was a dependent village.

⁵ Vide p. 6.

⁶ باربعینات MS. (A) has باز تعینات by transposition of dots. The reading of the text and MS. (B) is correct.

milk, green vegetables,¹ and wild fruits. His liberality was profuse and open-handed. In the reign of Salim Shāh² I went, in company with my maternal grandfather, to pay my respects to the Shaiikh and took some lessons in the *Kāfiyyah*³ from him. At last the Shaiikh, withdrawing himself from all worldly concerns was overcome by stupor. He secluded himself alone in a room and would not admit even his sons to his presence, until in the year H. 989 (A.D. 1581) he departed from this world. He is buried in the hospice which he built. On the day of his death a sparrow fell down from the air on to the head of the corpse, and this was a matter of wonder to all who beheld it.

XXIX. SHAIKH NAṢĪR-U'D-DĪN.

He was a native of Hindaun,⁴ and had the reputation of being skilled in alchemy. It is said that the Shaiikh was constantly in attendance on the emperor Humāyūn, who has obtained forgiveness of his sins, both in court and in camp, and that when the emperor arrived at Āgra after being defeated at Jansā⁵ the Shaiikh said,⁶ "Something will be required for the maintenance of a fresh army," and accordingly collected all the copper pots, dishes, and other vessels which could be found and, in the late emperor's presence, converted them into pure gold. This matter was noised abroad, but when I inquired into the truth of it from

¹ كِبَا; literally 'grass.'

² Son and successor of Faridu-d-dīn Shir Shāh, reigned A.D. 1545—1552.

³ A famous work on Arabic grammar, vide vol. i, trans. Ranking, 428 and note 6

⁴ Then a *pargana* town in the *sarkār* and *ṣūba* of Āgra (*Āin-i-Akbarī*, ii, 183). Now the headquarters of a *tahsil* and *niẓāmat* of the same name in the State of Jaipur in Eastern Rājputāna. *Vide Imperial Gazetteer of India*, new series, xiii, 135.

⁵ Where Humāyūn was defeated by Shir Shāh in A.H. 946 (A.D. 1539). *Vide* vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 460.

⁶ شَيْخ قَوْمُونْد. Both MSS. have بَشِيخ قَوْمُونْد 'he said to the Shaiikh.' In spite of the authority of the MSS. the context shows the reading of the text to be correct.

his sons, with whom I am connected by marriage, they told me that a *durcīh* of great attainments¹ had given their father a basket, full of the ingredients necessary for the transmutation of the baser metals, and that to whatever copper this was applied the alchemist's object was attained, but that after their father had once mixed these ingredients with the copper he had no further power of manufacturing gold, as he was unacquainted with the science of alchemy.—but God knows the truth!

I saw the Shāikh in Āgra in the days when Bairam Khān was in power in the house of Sayyid Shāh Mir,² the nephew of Mir Sayyid Rafī'u-d-dīn the traditionist. He was an old man of enlightened appearance and of a good disposition. He died in those days, and is buried in Hindann

XXX. SHAIKH MUBĀRAK OF ALWAR.³

Salim Shāh used to call him Shāh Mubārak, and used to place his shoes before his feet. The Shāikh generally claimed to be a Sayyid, and was in great repute among the Afghāns. Thus when their power was on the wane and they were fleeing before the Mughuls some of the Afghāns seized Shāikh Islām⁴ of Fathpūr suspecting him of being a wealthy man, and, having confined him in a strange manner, carried him off to the fort of Rautambhor. Shāikh Mubārak went thither from Alwar by way of Basāwar, and was the means of Shāikh Islām's⁴ liberation.

Shāikh Mubārak twice attained the honour of performing a pilgrimage to the glorious ka'bah.

I was sixteen years of age at that time when, in company with my venerated father, I paid my respects to the Shāikh in Basāwar, and after that, in the year H. 987 (A.D. 1579), when the
110 emperor was returning from his pilgrimage to Ajmir at which

¹ كامل العياري The expression might also be rendered, 'full of knavery'

² Vide infra No. xxxviii.

³ Then the headquarters of *sarkār* of the same name in the *suba* of Āgra. Now the capital of the Alwar State in Eastern Rājputāna.

⁴ Scil. Shāikh Salim-i-Cishtī, of Fathpūr Sikri. He is sometimes called 'Shāikh Islām,' and, by *umālah*, 'Shāikh Islīm (Islam).'

the whole of the *Qur'ān* was read, and was journeying to Fath-pūr by way of Alwar, I was again honoured by an interview with the *Shāikh*. He had, in truth, reached perfection and was most liberal and open-handed. It is now ¹ reported that he has recently, at the age of ninety years, bidden farewell to this transitory world.

VXXXI. *SHAIKH CĀYAN LADH OF SOHNA.*

(Ladh) Sohna ² is a *parḡana* town of Mewāt, eighteen *kurūh* ³ distant from Dihli. There is there a hot spring, rising from a mine of sulphur. The water is green in colour and smells of sulphur. Even in the winter time the water is so hot that it is impossible to bear it on the body. Bathing at that spring is a remedy for scald-head and itch. The smell and colour of the water are clear proof that it springs from sulphur. On summer nights, too, small flashes of fire may be seen on the hills surrounding the town, though nobody kindle a fire there.

The *Shāikh* was one of the most famous successors of *Shāikh* 'Abdu-'l-'Azīz of Dihli ⁴ and travelled resolutely in the path of poverty. He used to give instruction in *Sufi*-istic books, such as the *Fuṣūṣ* ⁵ and the *Naqd-i-fusus*,⁶ to his pupils, who were seekers after the truth. The emperor, towards the end of the *Shāikh's* life, placed great confidence in him and sought the help of his auspices in several important matters of state. He appointed quarters for him in the *'ibādāt-khāna* close to the imperial palace and

¹ A.H. 1004 (A.D. 1595-96)

² Then in the *Bewārī sarkār* of the *sūba* of Dihli (*Am-i-Akbarī*, ii, 293, where it is called *Sohnah*). Now a town in the District and *taḥṣīl* of Gurgaon, Panjāb. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, new series, xiii, 72). The text has 'Ladh Sohna,' and the MSS. 'Ladh Sohna.' Neither MS. prefixes 'Ladh' to 'Sohna' in the account of the *Shāikh's* life.

³ In reality about twenty-five miles.

⁴ Vide *Am-i-Akbarī*, i, 538.

⁵ Vide p. 17 and note 8.

⁶ 'The coin of the *Fuṣūṣ*' Probably the commentary on the *Fuṣūṣu-l-Hikam* mentioned on p. 17. Both MSS. read *نصوین* (*nuṣūn*) for *فصوین*, the meaning of the book's title being, according to them, 'The coin of demonstrations.'

used to admit him to private interviews at night, and the inverted prayers of the recitation of which the emperor was a witness became inverted in their effects.¹

In the year H. 998² (A.D. 1590) when the Shaikh fell sick of the complaint of which he died he sent for the worthy son of Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-'Aziz Qutb-i-'Ālam, who was then employed in the army, from Dihli, and, placing before him the patched robe, the staff, and the other insignia of Shaikh-dom, said to him, "These were a trust which I received from your venerable father. You are more worthy of them than I." He then set out on his journey to the next world. The words "the truth of poverty"³ were found to give the date of his death.

Shaikh Qutb-i-'Ālam, guided by God's grace, retired from the
111 imperial service, and, obeying the call to follow in his venerable father's footsteps, guided his life thereby. He is settled in Dihli, and is employed, by the emperor's order, in the guardianship of the footprint of his holiness the resort of apostleship⁴ (the blessing and peace of God be upon him!), rendering service to all who visit it. If it please God, who is honoured, he will be endowed with the noble qualities of his honoured father.

✓ XXXII. SHAIKH 'ABDU-'L-'GHANI OF BADĀON.

He⁵ also is one of the successors of Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-'Aziz. In asceticism⁶ he has no equal in these days, and in seeking solitude,

¹ Vide vol. ii, text, p. 286. Shaikh Cāyan Iadh (there called Shaikh Cānilā, or 'Shaikh Jānilā') ventured to prophesy that one of the ladies of the imperial haram would bear a son. She bore a daughter, and the Shaikh was somewhat discredited.

² The text, while giving the correct date in words, gives it in figures, wrongly, as 989. Vide vol. ii, text, p. 373. The Shaikh is there called Shaikh Jāniladh' with 'Shaikh Cāyanladina' as a variant.

³ حقیقت فقر This chronogram, which gives the date 998, is quoted in vol. ii, text, p. 374, also.

⁴ A large stone bearing a footprint said to be that of Muḥammad, brought from Makkah by Shāh Abū Tarāb in A.D. 1582. Vide vol. ii, p. 310.

⁵ MS. (A) gives the Shaikh's name here.

⁶ The text has تري here. Some word has apparently been omitted,

he is the "Shibli" of the age. At the beginning of his career, when he was a student in Badāon, he used to be overcome by religious ecstasy, and sometimes even in the midst of his studies on hearing the chanting of a mystical song he would remain insensible for a whole watch of the day, more or less. When his intimate friends asked him what he had seen to bring this ecstatic trance upon him he would reply, "I know nothing of it."

In consequence of the responsibilities which he incurred by his marriage, which is ² a pitfall for enlightened seekers after knowledge,—

Couplet.

Who are the robbers whom we encounter on our road to
God ?

Those robbers are no other than women—

he came to Dihli in search of a livelihood, and there entered the service of Tātār Khān,¹ the governor of the city, who, though clad in the habiliments of the great ones of the earth, was one of the godly. The Shāikh attached himself as a disciple to Shāikh 'Abdu-'l-'Aziz, and under him he studied all those books which are generally current and are included in the ordinary curriculum. He then spent several years in teaching, and was then suddenly drawn mysteriously by God's grace, and, abandoning all his occupations, he joined the circle of ascetic *darrīshes* in the Shāikh's hospice, and employed himself in striving in the path of holiness and in self-mortification. After attaining perfection he left human habitations and took up his dwelling near 112 the footprint of his holiness the resort of apostleship (may the blessing and peace of God be upon him!), in a *masjid* known as

but the MSS. give no help. The meaning of the passage is, however, clear.

¹ A famous Muhammadan saint. Vide vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 59 and note 1

² میگرد MS. (A) has میگرد which is equally good and MS (B) میگرد which is wrong

³ Vide *Jin-i-Albārī*, i, 421. Tātār Khān died at Dihli in A.H. 936 (A.D. 1578-79) or, according to the *Tahẓīb*, in A.H. 935 (A.D. 1577-78).

the *masjid* of Khān-i-Jahān. There he dwells in religious seclusion, and, in spite of his having a large family, he follows a religious rule, with a firm trust in God. He had not taken one step from the corner of retirement when in the year H. 1003 (A.D. 1594-95) the Khān-i-Khānūn¹ waited upon him, and asked him for his advice. He said, "Deem the following of the holy law² of Muḥammad (may the blessing and peace of God be upon him!) to be of the first importance." At the time when this hastily compiled history was written Aḥmad-i-Šūfiyāq³ and Ḥisām-ak⁴ of Banāras, men newly converted to Islām, who in the religious strife of these latter days are branded with the mark of eternal execration—

Maṣnawī.

Stand aloof from the *Sūfi*s of the city and the country,
All of them are unmanly wretches, devourers of men.
Whatever one gives to them that they devour.
Whatever lies in their power that they do.
They have no occupation but sleeping and eating,
They take no thought on the day on which they shall die—

for the purpose of averting from themselves their evil reputation and concealing their gross immorality, formed the design of dispatching a *farmān* summoning from Dihli to Lāhōr Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Ghānī with one or two of his surviving children, whose names will be mentioned hereafter, for the purpose of urging him to submit to the new orders,⁵ which they themselves had most readily and cheerfully accepted. The Shaikh wrote a letter to me setting forth his helplessness and asking to be excused, and accordingly, after many representations Aḥmad-i-Šūfiyāq was appeased, and abandoned his design, and he caused

¹ Mirzā 'Abdu'r-Rahīm.

² *ممنّت* with *شروعیت* as a variant.

³ Aḥmad, the wretched little Šāfi. Vide vol. ii, text, p. 405.

⁴ 'The wretched little Ḥisām.' Possibly Manlānā Ḥisāmu-d-din of Lāhōr, who differed from the other 'ulamā of Lāhōr. Vide *Īn-i-Akbari*, i, 538. The designation "of Banāras" may be given in contempt.

⁵ i.e., regarding the 'divine faith,' the manner of salutation at court, etc.

a letter to be written and sent to the *Shaykh* excusing him from attending in obedience to the summons and asking forgiveness for what he had done. Plerve God, the matter will end satisfactorily.

XXXIV. SHAIKH 'ABDUL-HAQQ OF DHUL

He has taken *Hagqi* as his poetical name. He is a compendium of perfect qualities and a source of excellence. He gives instruction in all branches of knowledge, both in those in which the reasoning faculty is called into play and in those which depend on the memory. He has attained a high degree in *Shfi*-ism, and among his works are the *History of Modernity the Tempest*, and a book on the modern *Shaykhs* of India, the date of the writing of which is given by the words *taken at Adiyah*. From his earliest youth he has sought eagerly after God, and, on account of his long-standing friendship with them he was for some time the companion, in Fathpur, of Shaikh Farz and Mirza Nizamu'd-din Ahmad, and by means of them I also had the honour of being permitted to wait on him, and continually enjoyed the advantages of his society. When a change came over the spirit of the time and the men of the time, all of whom are corrupters of what is good and compounded of the abominations of their own natures, and it was no longer safe to trust the dispositions of one's friends, the companionship of such a one and

* The chronogram gives the date A H 990 (A.D. 1580-91). I have not been able to find any mention elsewhere of Shaikh 'Abdul-Haqq's works.

such a one¹ became disagreeable to him, and, the grace of God influencing him, he was impelled to journey to the most noble *Ku'bah*, and he left Dihli for Gujārāt, in the condition of one who is mysteriously attracted by God, and cut off from all worldly concerns. Thanks to the good offices and assistance of Mirzā Nizāmu-'d-dīn Aḥmad he there obtained a passage on a ship bound for the Ḥijāz, but, being hindered by physical difficulties, he was unable to reach Madinah the Tranquil (on its inhabitants be peace and salutation!), and he spent some time in Makkah the glorious with Shaiḫ 'Abdu-'l-Wahhāb of India, the follower of
 114 Shaiḫ Raḥmatu-'llāh the traditionist (may the mercy of God be upon him!), who, having returned from the pilgrimage to Makkah with Ḥājī Begam,² came to Agra, where I drank some of the water of Zamzam³ from his auspicious hands, and took some lessons from him in the traditional sayings of Muḥammad, by way of a good augury, and from him, Shaiḫ 'Abdu-'l-Wahhāb, that is, he received permission to give instruction in the traditional sayings, and then returned to his well-loved native land. Here he cloaks his *Ṣūfī*-ism by giving instruction in those branches of knowledge which are included in the ordinary course of education. His aspirations are so high that he will not, if God the most High please, be ensnared on his heavenly way, and fail of attaining his object.

At the time when he returned from Makkah the glorious to Dihli, and I, perplexed and troubled in pursuit of my object, was on my way to the imperial camp, I had the opportunity of paying my respects to him for a few minutes, and after I had arrived at Lāhōr I wrote him a letter. I place a copy of it on record by way of invoking a blessing and as a memento:—

“After expressing my subjection to you, and the obligations which I owe you, I would represent that the affairs of this disappointed exile are, so far as is compatible with exile and dis-

¹ These expressions are evidently a subterfuge to avoid mentioning the names of the emperor and his favourites, such as Abū-l-Faḡl and Faḡī.

² Daughter of the brother of Humāyūn's mother. She returned from the pilgrimage in A.D. 1574 and died in A.D. 1581. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 299.

³ Hagar's well, at Makkah.

appointment, matter for thankfulness, and it is my hope that you too are constantly surrounded by God's protection. When you returned to Dilli and honoured me for one delightful hour, that interview did nothing but excite my thirst and vehement desire for your society, and so much remained unsaid and unheard that I cannot express it. 'A year of companionship is but an hour'¹ as has been said, and I myself experienced the truth of the saying. Indeed, the same might be said even of lifelong companionship (between friends). They said, 'We have tarried for a day, or part of a day.'² This world does not allow us sufficient time for companionship, or the delights of the society of friends, if their friendship be true and its bonds strong: it may be that on the morrow, beyond the grave, we shall enjoy this companionship, 'seated face to face on thrones'³ please God. To-day we must devote our efforts to strengthening the bonds and to directing 115 our aims aright. The time for true companionship will be the morrow, when presence and absence will be alike, and what we here call separation and union will be the same. May God (be He glorified and exalted!) grant to us some kind of affinity, even though it should be common to all, so that we may understand truly what sincerity really means. I pray you to keep your heart towards me, as mine is towards you. I have ascertained with the eye of certainty that the real meaning of affection and the true signification of friendship have implanted themselves in your nature, 'and praise be to God therefor.' May he increase them and not diminish them.' There was an honoured man, one of the dwellers in the two holy places, who used constantly to recite this prayer:—'O God! as Thou hast favoured so do Thou increase Thy favours, and as Thou hast increased them so do Thou continue them, and as Thou hast continued them, so do Thou bless them to us.' May God (be He glorified and exalted!)

¹ سنة الوصال سنة. Both MSS. and the text have, wrongly, سنة الوصال سنة.

² قَالُوا لَبَنَّا يَوْمًا أَوْ بَعْضَ يَوْمٍ Qur'an, xviii, 18.

³ عَلَى سُرُرٍ مُتَقَابِلِينَ Qur'an, xv, 46

increase, continue, and bless to us the gift of true knowledge and love, by the dignity of the chief of the first and the last of men, Muḥammad, and his family, and his companions, all of them! If you should ever honour your friend with a kind letter I hope that you will also honour and delight me with whatever holy news you may have of his holiness the Shaiḫ, him to whom all men turn, and who is named Kalimū-'llāh (may God bless and preserve him!), and that you will convey to his noble presence a few words from me, so that I may not disappear from his memory. Much as I wished to write something on this subject my pen refused its office. Nor was there any need that I should write anything, for when the time came for me to make my requests of the Mirzā¹ I composed some verses on this subject, moreover I wrote plainly that there was no occasion for ceremony. I hope that you will be diligent in delivering that letter. Farewell."

Shaiḫ Faiẓi, after his return from the Dakan, following his old custom of ingeniously tormenting his friends, was very desirous of gathering them round him in order to increase the attractions of his social circle and to indulge in conversation with them and was constantly annoying and troubling them (to come to him).

Hemistich.

(Our friend has this, and also that.

- 116 He sent several letters from Lāhor to express the strong desire which he had of summoning Shaiḫ 'Abdu-'l-Ḥaqq to him. The Shaiḫ, however, was exceedingly vexed, and would not come, but sent letters containing excuses, and made his seclusion from the world his pretext for not coming. Shaiḫ Faiẓi then sent in reply the letter of which a copy appears below, and this is the last letter which he wrote, and what is written in it is written.

"My strong desire of seeing you, my spiritual friend, dear to the Lord (may He long preserve you!) was not of the nature of official or formal matters, that it should have been reduced to writing. At first I was not aware that you were sick at heart—

¹ Mirzā Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad.

that heart which displays bounty—and it is probable that I may have expressed my desire (somewhat too strongly). After I became aware that you had closed this way of access I gave your wishes precedence over my own, and I trust that the odour (of this action) will be agreeable to you. My request now is that you should not give yourself over to melancholy in your place of retirement. Two or three days ago that choicest of saints, Miyān Shaikh Mūsā,¹ honoured my poor dwelling with a visit, and said that it was not improbable that you would be coming hither about this time. I pressed him to tell me what grounds he had for saying this, but he left the matter uncertain and undetermined. I swear by God, the Supreme Object of worship, that I gave him no hint of my own wishes, nor shall I do so.

Hemistich.

When the time comes for speech what need is there of a letter?

If you remain at home, it is light, and if you come it will be light upon light. I swear by God that I have constrained myself to forego this wish and that I have not of my own accord given any intimation of my desire, nor shall I do so. I hope that you will not vex yourself further regarding this matter. But if I had wings I would sit daily on the roof of your chamber and would gather 117 the grains of your affectionate discourse, trilling forth the song of my desire. What more shall I write? Your pearl-like² petitions are few and far between. I pray you for God's sake close not the road against the caravan of my secrets. If it is closed from your side it shall not be from mine. Greetings. I send supplications to the Alexander of the throne of holy poverty, Miyān Bahlūl. In the past two days what is expressed in the following quatrain

Quatrain.

“Faizi! Old age is upon thee, walk circumspectly,
 Let each step that thou takest be such as may be
 approved.
 Through spectacles of glass thou wilt perceive naught,
 Tear a bit from thy heart and place it on thine eyes.”

Glory be to God! That Shaikh Faizi has passed away and become a by-word, and as for these, the mention of whom is still among us for a few days, or rather for a few hours, who are they that we should waste time in addressing them where preparation is even now being made for our departure hence? All that remains to them is the wind of speech. How long shall we waste our time in measuring it?

Couplet.

It will not be long before no trace of us remains,
 You have broken the flask and spilt the wine, there is no
 cupbearer (to replace it).

XXXV. MAULĀNĀ ILĀHDĀD¹ OF SELTĀNPEH

He originally came from Banoda, a village in Sind. He was a pupil of Maḥdūm-’l-Mulk. He is distinguished for the nobility of his descent. Although he was formerly much puffed up with the pride of learning and youth he has now gained experience, and his former pride has been changed for poverty and humility. For some time he held the appointment of *Sadr* of the *Sadr* of the Panjāb² but has now for a long time past held that of *Qiz* of the new settlement of the Hahabad,³ and remains in the imperial service, contenting himself with the small allowance which has been allotted to him in that city, and refraining from constantly visiting the houses of the worldly. He is endowed with probity and is zealous in devotion to God.

¹ In vol. ii, text, p. 295, he is called Mullā Bahād Nāṭan of Sahangpur and is said to be notorious for his evil disposition.

² According to vol. ii (p. 171), he was *sadr* of one of the Divans of the Panjāb, probably of the Jee Divān, between the *Atthas* and the *Chind*.

³ Probably in 1583 (vide vol. ii, text, p. 337).

In those branches of knowledge which call for the exercise of the reasoning faculty he was a pupil of Ḥakīm-ūl-Mulk, and he acquired those which depend on the memory from other teachers. He is a capable and ready divine, and very liable to fits of religious ecstasy. He is now in attendance on the imperial court. His understanding is good. He is inclined to religious retirement, and most of his time is spent in devotion. He was employed for some years, by the interest of Qilij Khān,² in the administration of some *parganas* in the Dūjab. He has now come to court and is ranked among the *mansab dārs*.³

XXXVII. ḤUJĪ SULTĀN OF THĀNESAR.

He has acquired the honour of performing the pilgrimage to Makkah the glorious and Madinah the delectable. He is well-versed in those branches of learning which depend on the memory and was for a long time in the imperial service. He was employed for four years, alone and without any co-adjutor, on the translation of the *Mahābhārata*, which is known as the *Rāz-nāma*,⁴ and what was begun by Naqib Khān was finished by him. On account of an accusation of the crime of cow-killing which was brought against him by the Hindus of that *pargana*,⁵ an order was issued for his banishment to Bhakkar, and the Khān-i-Khānān, who was in those days in charge of the *Suba* (of Multān), treated him with great consideration and kindness, and

¹ Then a *pargana* town in the Sirhind *taluk* of the *nah* of Dillā. Now a town in the Bhawalpur *taluk* and Karnawal *nah* of the Patiala State, in the Panjab. *Fide* *Imp. Gazetteer of India*, new series, xxi, 1.

² *Fide* *infra*, c. iii, no. 1.

³ *Fide* A. A., vol. i (trans. Blochmann), p. 354, also *infra*, c. iv, no. xiv.

⁴ His name does not appear in the *Imrūdī* among the *ransakhāns*.

⁵ *Fide* A. A., vol. i (trans. Blochmann, pp. 104, 105 *not*), also *Badā'uni* II, 302 (text). Ḥijī Sultan seems to have translated two parts of the *Mahābhārata*, besides some portions of other parts omitted by the other translators, who were, besides the Ḥajī and Naqib Khān, Badā'uni himself, who was much disgusted with his task, and Faizi, the elder brother of Abū'l-Fa'z.

⁶ Thānesar.

applied ointment to the wounds of his soul. After that land had been completely subjugated the Khān-i-Khānān took Hājī Sultān with him thence, and promised to procure the reversal of the sentence of banishment which had been passed against him. Hājī Sultān returned secretly to his native place, and the Khān-i-Khānān, after conquering the province of Asirgāh and Burhānpūr, prayed in one of his petitions for the reversal of the sentence against him. His request was granted, and Providence watched over the Hājī's affairs, so that the emperor privately ordered Shāikh Abū-l-Faẓl to appoint him Karōrī of Thānēsar and Karnāl, so that he was freed from the fear that had beset him. He still holds the appointment of Karōrī.

119

Poetry.

"How many mysterious favours are bestowed by God,
The mystery of which is great to the intelligent²
understanding!"

These events were, as one might say, comfort³ after adversity.

At the time when Hājī Sultān was translating the *Mahābhārata* one asked him what it was that he was writing. He replied, "I am translating what was well known ten thousand years ago into the modern tongue."

XXXVIII. SAYYID SHĀH MİR OF SĀMĀNA.

He is a *Sayyid* of authentic descent, adorned with the excellence of learning and decked with the jewel of piety. His hand is drawn within the skirt of contentment, and he passes his time in instructing students, having his dwelling on the far side of the river at Agra, near to where the late Shāikh Bahā-'u-'d-

¹ Thānēsar was a *pargana* in the *Sirhind sarkār* of the *ṣūba* of Dihlī, and Karnāl was a *pargana* in the *sarkār* and *ṣūba* of Dihlī. Karnāl is now the headquarters of a District in the *Panjāb*, and Thānēsar is the headquarters of a *talqīl* in the Karnāl District.

² The text has, wrongly, ذكي for ذكي .

³ The text has فرج but both MSS. have فرح. Whichever reading be adopted the meaning will be the same.

din. the *Muṭī*, used to live. Students and *Sufīs* are gathered together in his hospice and profit by his companionship. He had one pupil, a one-eyed man named Maulānā Farid, of whom it was said that, although ¹ he had not studied deeply, as soon as a difficult question or subtle and obscure argument was propounded to him from any advanced ² book whatsoever, he would at once call for pen and inkstand, and, having reduced it to writing, would solve it immediately, although he could not give the solution orally, or even read what he had himself written. Shaiḫh Ziyā'u-'llāh ³ and the whole of the *Ghawṣiyyah* order submitted themselves entirely to the authority of this (Farid), so that their subjection to the Sayyid may be imagined. I have also heard that the same Farid would in one night relate to Sayyid Shāh Mir events that had just happened in the furthest parts of the world, east or west. Some attributed this power to the possession of a *jinn*, and others to other causes. In the year in which the emperor summoned Shaiḫh Ziyā'u-'llāh from Āgra with great favour and kindness and assigned a place to him in the '*Idādat-khāna* on an occasion when there was a gathering of the *Shaiḫhs* and '*Ulamā*, I one night in private questioned the Shaiḫh concerning the matter of Farid the scribe, and, after relating what was spread abroad concerning him, I said, "Are these things really so?" The Shaiḫh first of all enumerated his own fragmentary writings and the works of which he was the author, detailed his own accomplishments and acquirements, and gave me a full account of himself, and then said, "In spite of all these favours which God (may His Majesty be exalted!) has bestowed upon me I cannot call myself so much as a gleaner (in the field of knowledge) after Shaiḫh Farid, and all that you have heard of him does not amount to one hundredth part of the truth. His

¹ بانی MS. (B) has, wrongly, بانک

² مفتیانہ. This is the reading of the text. Both MSS. have مفتیانہ
³ of or relating to one who is authorized to deliver a *fatwā*. The textual emendation appears to me to be correct, and I have accordingly adopted it.

³ Vide *infra*, No. XL. Both MSS. wrongly insert the name as a headline here.

dignity is above it all, and he has attained this great good fortune by means of sweeping the threshold of the holy Sayyid Shāh Mir. Now I had seen Sayyid Shāh Mir before this at Badāon, whither he had gone on business connected with his subsistence allowance. A copy of the *Mashāriq-u'l-Anwār* ¹ was between us, and we had much learned discourse. He certainly had the meditative faculty strongly developed, a pleasant disposition, a ready understanding and a good stock of knowledge, but I did not find him such a prodigy as Shahid Ziyā'u'llāh and other men had represented. As for the rest, God the most High knows the truth. It may be that he purposely concealed his abilities from me, but indeed what need is there to suppose that he might not have displayed to others those abilities of the display of which ² he allowed me to be disappointed?

XXXIX.—SAYYID YĀSĪN.

He is one of the cousins of Sayyid Shāh Mir. He studied most of the books usually current, and acquired all such knowledge as is included in the ordinary course of education under Miyān Vajihu'd-dīn, ³ in Gujarāt, and also became his disciple in spiritual matters. He acquired the honour of performing the pilgrimage of Islām, and studied the traditions in the Hījāz, and there received authority to give instruction therein. Thence he returned to India, and spent some time in Lāhor in the company of wealthy and powerful men, who were concerned with the affairs of the state. He then broke off his companionship with these men, and lived in Sirhind, clad in the garb of Shaiikhs and the raiment of those who follow a life of holy poverty, and for some time gave instruction there to his followers, who were clad in blue, and he also claimed to be a religious leader. Since he was ever desirous of going again to Gujarāt, and thence

¹ A work on the *Aḥādith*, or traditional sayings of Muḥammad.

² The text has, carelessly, *اچان* for *اچان*. Both MSS. have the correct reading.

³ Vide *supra*, p. 70.

to the two holy places, he could not rest in the district of Sirhind, and went to Bangāl, where he is now travelling. It remains to be seen whither his destiny will lead him and in what land he will at last find the happiness of retirement.

XLI.—SHAIKH ZAYYU'L-LĀH.

He is the successor of Shaiikh Muhammad Ghāus.¹ Few of the Shaiikhs of this age can be his equals in *Sufi*-istic converse. In his assembly the talk was ever of "true knowledge," and nothing was spoken of save the contemplation of unity and the asceticism of the *Sufis*, but who knows what his private opinions may be, or to what extent he will carry his claims? At the beginning of his career, when the report of him was spread abroad in all the surrounding country, I heard that the Shaiikh had succeeded his father in the throne of holy poverty and religious leadership and that in some accomplishments² he excelled him, for instance, that he could explain the meaning of the *Qur'ān* in such a manner that there was no need of a commentary,³ besides having committed the *Qur'ān* to memory, so that he had it on the tip of his tongue. Accordingly in the year H. 970 (A.D. 1562-63) I went to visit him in Agra, and that without⁴ the intervention of any person to introduce me and to act as a mentor, and in the character of one who was altogether free from ceremony and had been long disappointed of his object, a character to which I had accustomed myself. Indeed, in visiting holy men worldly means and the intervention of men interested in externals only are disturbing elements in the attainment of one's object. I made the usual salutation and I had a conversation with him face to face. The Shaiikh himself, from the high consideration in which he was held, was probably

¹ Vide p. 6.

² بر ناطن کسی کاہ نیست MS. (B) has بر ناطن وی کسی کاہ نیست which is nonsense.

³ فضیلت MS. (A) has فضیلتها.

⁴ احتیاجی به تفسیری MS. (A) has احتیاج تفسیری.

⁵ بی وسیلہ MS. (B) has به وسیلہ which is wrong.

a slave to those ceremonial observances dear to Shaikhs' sons, and my unceremonial manner of visiting him displeased him. Those who were present in his assembly said to me, "Where do you come from?" I said, "From Sahsarām."¹ When they asked me whether I had made any advance in the study of the sciences, I said that I had, at one time or another, studied a little of each one of them. Since Sahsawān is an inconsiderable town and at that time Qilij Khan,² Cagān Begi, the disciple of the Shaiikh's father, was *jāgirdār* of that place, I was of small account in his eyes, and he esteemed me lightly and began to jest with me and mock me, and made a sign to a jester who was present, prompting him to scare me and turn me out of my place, but I, becoming aware of these proceedings, the like of which I had often witnessed, pretended that I had noticed nothing and posed as an innocent fool. The jester then began his pranks, saying, "the odour of some sweet scent has reached my nostrils, and my brain is becoming disordered, let those who are present in the assembly have a care, lest I do some one a mischief." He then began to foam at the mouth and one of the Shaiikh's companions, who posed as a *Sūfi*, asked me whether I had applied the scent to myself. I said, "Yes; but what is the matter?" He said, "This person whom you see in this state of unconsciousness was once bitten by a mad dog, and now, whenever he smells a sweet scent he falls to foaming at the mouth, howling like a dog, and tries to bite people. Have a care for yourself." Those who were present there began to flee and the Shaiikh too, inaugurating this new custom, joined with them in setting himself knowingly to terrify me, and became the accomplice³ of those devilish men. At that moment I said, "It is strange that men travel from distant lands to this exalted

¹ Then a *pargana* town in the Ruhtās *sarkār* of the *ṣūba* of Bihār, now the headquarters of a subdivision in the Shāhābād District of Bengal. *Vide Imp. Gazetteer of India*, new series, xxii, 111. Shīr Shāh of Dillī and his father, Hasan Shāh Sūr, are buried at Sahsarām.

² *Vide Ain-i-Akbarī*, 34, 354.

³ The text has here, wrongly, *مراقت*. The reading of the MSS. (*مواقت*) is correct.

threshold in order to obtain the fulfilment of their desires when, as a matter of fact, one who has been bitten by a mad dog cannot find a remedy here." The *Shaiikh* asked me whether I knew of a remedy, and, on my replying that I did, asked me what it was. I replied, "This man should be beaten on the head with shoes and clods, as *Shaiikh* Sa'di (may God have mercy upon him!) said:—

HEMISTICH.

"The cure for a rabid dog is a clod!"

They were all astonished, and I continued, "The strange thing is," I said, "that *kulūk* is also the name of a vegetable drug, which is a remedy for the bite of a dog." The *Shaiikh* then became uneasy,¹ fearing that his jest had fallen flat, and said, "Come, let us go and busy ourselves with the study of the words of God and His prophet." Then, taking a copy of the glorious *Qur'ān* he proceeded to expound a verse from the chapter of "The Cow,"² and in doing so exercised the right of private judgment very freely.³ His pupils, blockheads that they were, assented to every absurdity that he concocted, saying, "We believe it, we accept it!" I, since my heart was full (of indignation) said, "Perhaps this interpretation which is given by the *Shaiikh* is to be found in the commentary." He replied, "I am speaking of the secondary meaning⁴ of the text and what may be inferred from it,⁵ and this is a common practice and by no means a peculiarity of my own." I said, "Taking this for granted, is your interpretation literal or the metaphorical meaning of the text?" He replied, "The metaphorical meaning." I replied, "Pray then explain the connection between the two interpretations," and led him on into an argument regarding the meanings

¹ ترشده is the reading of both MSS. and is correct. The editor of the text, apparently not understanding the idiom, has altered it to ترسیده.

² The second chapter of the *Qur'ān*.

³ عذی عذبات گوناگون میگفت means 'from me.' It is here expressly used as a substantive 'from me-ism,' 'invention.'

⁴ تازیان The word signifies 'turning language from its obvious meaning.'

⁵ اشارت 'a sign,' i.e. what the text indicates by implication

of the text. He replied disconnectedly and glanced, in an agitated manner, in all directions. When I held him firmly to the point he lost his temper, and said, shutting up the *Qur'ān*, "I have not studied dialectics." I said, "You have presumed so far as to interpret a text of the *Qur'ān* in a manner unsupported by tradition, and it is necessary that the connection between the literal interpretation and (your) metaphorical interpretation should be investigated." He then turned the subject and began to ask me about myself. In the meantime I produced a portion of a commentary which I had written on the *Qasidah'l-Budak*,¹ and called his attention to the expressions in the opening couplet of that *qasidah* which had struck me. He praised my work, and himself also said something on the same subject, and our interview came to an end in that manner. This was all I saw of him until the time when I entered the imperial service, when the *Shāikh* in obedience to a summons from the Court came alone and helpless to the *'Hādut-khāna*, where he took his place. It was on a Friday when the *Shāikh* with one or two of his intimate companions first entered the *'Hādut-khāna* and Mirza Ghiyāsu'd-dīn 'Alī the theologian, Mirza Akh'und, and Mirza 'Alī Asaf Khān had been ordered to examine the *Shāikh* thoroughly and to question him on his *Sufi-ism*, in order to see

He then asked, "How can God the most Holy be described as "all" or "the whole," since He is above being defined as a part or the whole?" The Shaiikh who had undergone much tribulation before coming to Court, and whose pride, haughtiness and self-conceit were completely broken, since he had endured much trouble, was ¹ very modest and indistinctly muttered a few words which nobody understood. At last I, growing bold, ventured to say, "Although the Maulavi Jāmi (may his tomb be sanctified!) has in this quatrain applied the expression "the whole" to God the most Holy and most High, yet he has in another quatrain spoken of Him as being divisible into parts, and far be that from the most High!

Quatrain.

"As for this love which is a part of the Indissoluble One
(whom) we (love)

God forbid that it should be comprehended of our intelligence,

Happy will it be for us if there flash a ray from the light
of certainty

Which will free us from the darkness of our doubts."

The meaning of these passages is that whatever can be conceived, whether it be the whole or a part, is nothing but God, and that besides Him there is no true existence. In short, since words fail to express the writer's meaning adequately he uses them in various senses, explaining (God's existence) sometimes as a whole and sometimes as (possessing) parts." I then adduced several propositions regarding the inherent unity of essence, a principle which had at that time become ingrained in me, and called upon the Shaiikh to corroborate my arguments, and both 125 the emperor and the Shaiikh were well pleased with my discourse. About this time Shaiikh Isma'il, the half-brother of the Shaiikh, near whom I lived in the quarter of the Kh'āja-yi-Jahān in Fathpūr, and with whom I was on terms of intimate

¹ The text has, wrongly, بود. Both MSS. have بود.

companionship, took me, in obedience to Shaikh Ziyā'u-'llāh's wish, to the 'Tbūdatkhāna, and there introduced me to him, and related to him the story of my meeting with him eleven years before, which he had heard from me. Shaikh Ziyā'u-'llāh was much perturbed and said that he did not remember that any such thing had happened. The Shaikh, although he pretends to refrain from company, which is really self-advertisement, now lives in Āgra, in outward appearance, like his father, one of the holy men, while on the contrary he spends his time in self-indulgence and idleness, clad in the raiment of men of rank, and retains his old habits, many strange utterances, calculated to deceive the vulgar, and delivered with apparent simplicity, being reported. I have not space to record them.

Mir Abū'l-Ghais of Bukhārā ¹ (may the mercy of God be upon him!) used to say, "Let him be what he may, with his devotee's raiment, his assemblies of those vowed to holy poverty, and his discourses on mysticism. We believe in him with our whole heart!"

In the year in which the Khān-i-Zamān was defeated ² Shaikh Ziyā'u-'llāh accompanied the army to Ambethi, and had an interview with his holiness Miyān Shaikh Nizāmu-'d-din (may his tomb be sanctified!). When the Miyān was commenting on the blessed verse, "And therein shall they be given to drink of a cup of wine, mixed with the water of Zaujabil, a fountain in paradise named Salsabil," ³ Shaikh Ziyā'u-'llāh, with a view of displaying his ability, interrupted the discourse, and said, "There is a discrepancy between this verse and another verse of the Qur'ān." The Miyān was moved to anger and said, "Holy is God! The father dived in that (sea of doubt) and must now be feeling the utmost need of intercession, and the son here sets himself to prove discrepancies between the words of God (be He honoured and glorified!)"

¹ *Vide infra*, No. XLI.

² A.D. 1567. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 100.

³ Qur'ān ويسقون فيها كما كان مزاجيا زنجيلا عينا فيها تسمى سلسيلا
lxxvi, 17,

Everything that is in the heart is not instruction !

XLI. MİR ABŪ'L-GHĀIS OF BUKHĀRĀ.

He was a high-minded man and a follower of the pure religion who had so acquired angelic qualities that they became, as it were, ingrafted in his noble nature. Though clad in the outward garb of wealth he possessed the inward attributes of holy poverty. From association with many of the great *Shaiḫs* of his time he had profited much, and had inherited much of the customs of his noble ancestors. In good breeding, but especially in liberal disbursement of his substance,¹ in independence of character, good fellowship, and uprightness in his dealings, he was one of the noblest of God's works. He followed the ceremonial observances of the law and imitated the laudable qualities of the ancients and their successors so closely that he omitted not the observance of one tittle of the holy law.² Such were his endeavours to fulfil all the requirements of the law of the congregation³ that even in the time of his mortal sickness, when he was suffering from a painful chronic disorder he did not omit the recital of the "*Allāhu Akbar*"⁴ at the commencement of his prayers. The conversation in his assemblies consisted always of texts from the *Qur'ān*, traditional sayings of the prophet, and the words of holy men. He died in the year H. 995 (A.D. 1587),⁵ and the words "The Mīr of laudable qualities"⁶ were found to give the date of his death.

¹ بذل و انفاق MS. (A) has, wrongly, انفاق

² The text here has شرعى, evidently a misprint for شرعى, the reading of both MSS.

³ سنت جماعت the law as interpreted by the *Sunnīs*.

⁴ Vide *supra*, p. 36, n. 4.

⁵ These words "He died * * 995" are omitted from the text, though they appear in both MSS.

میر متوده سیر 40 + 10 + 200 + 60 + 400 + 6 + 4 + 5 + 60 + 10 + 200 = 995.

XLII. MIYÂN KAMĀLU-D-DĪN ḤUSAIN OF SHĪRĀZ.

When the heart in calling loved ones to remembrance blossoms like the rose it is not becoming that the dust of vexation should reach or settle upon the hearts of friends even though the account of their lives be somewhat prolonged.

Miyân Kamālu-d-dīn Ḥusain is the worthy son of Maulānā Ḥasan of Shīrāz who at the time when Shāh Isma'il was expelled from Shīrāz went to Makkah the glorious, and on his return thence came to Gujarāt in the reign of Sultān Sikandar Lōdī,¹ and, accompanying the caravan of Sayyid Rafi'ū-d-dīn the traditionist,² and Miyân Abū-'l-Faṭḥ of Khurāsān, the father of Miyân Budh, he took up his residence in Agra. The famous and well-known Shaikh Zainu-d-dīn³ praises him as follows:—

127 “My verse is of both reason and tradition, therefore I would that it should be hearkened to

By him who combines the knowledge of sciences both of reason and tradition, Maulānā Ḥasan.”

Miyân Kamālu-d-dīn Ḥusain is an angel in the form of a man, whose laudable qualities and praiseworthy attributes are more than can be either written or related. The emperor, recognizing that he was distinguished for his greatness and loftiness (of mind), was exceedingly desirous that he should enter the imperial service. At last he abandoned everything, and contenting himself with a small grant of land for his subsistence found complete happiness in the exile of poverty and the honour of good faith, and spends his time in continual devotion. He lives, free from care, sometimes in Dihli and sometimes in Agra. From earliest youth till old age he has walked unintermittently in the path of devotion, reciting the praises of God, giving alms, reciting set portions of the word of God, and reading the Qur'ān, knowing no other habit of life; but with all this excellence and perfection

¹ Reigned from Dec. 1488 to Jan. 1517.

² Vide vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 476, and note 5.

³ Probably Shaikh Zainu-d-dīn Yafā'i. Vide vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 609, and note 5.

in religious matters he has the highest ability, and perfect eloquence, excellent penmanship, skill in orthography and a masterly style are his by inheritance.

When I first came to Agra in my youth, in the time of Bairam Khān, the first place where I lodged was his *masjid*, where bounty was bestowed upon me, and his dwelling, where my soul was cherished, and there, in my opinion, the gates of happiness were first opened to me.

From that time till the time of writing this hasty memoir a period of full forty years has elapsed, during which time I have observed that his kindness, sympathy, and regard for my friendship have increased daily, although (I could) not (have believed that) there was room for any increase :—

Poetry.

Enough of love. for that grows less. enough of beauty, for
that decays.

But my love for thee and thy beauty remain undiminished
—nay. have increased.

What now follows is a few drops distilled from his musk-diffusing pen, now incorporated by me in this record of friendship. They are as follows :—

“In ¹ the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate ! 128

We bless his prophet. the gracious one, and love for thee
has not waned but its strength is increased towards
thee,

and my desire towards thee is as it is.

¹ This is a letter from Kamālu-'d-dīn Ḥusain to Badāonī. The style is stilted and bombastic in the original and must necessarily appear more so in the translation, but as the substance of the letter is of no importance I have preferred to render it literally. As is usual in epistles of this nature, the writer refers both to himself and to the person whom he addresses in the third person, using in the latter case the plural of respect. As this plural cannot be used in English the continued use of the third person is apt to be confusing. I have, therefore, retained it in the exordium only, except where honorific titles appear in the body of the letter.

This atom of dust, inconsiderable and full of defects and blemishes, Kamālu-d-dīn Ḥusain, after conveying to you the greetings of an exile and the salutations of one who longs to see you, with the tongue of abridgment and brevity, of supplication and poverty, conveys to the enlightened mind, coruscating with benignity, namely, the mind of my worshipful master, the resort of clemency (may God save and preserve him and bestow on him all that pertains to matters both of religion and of the world !) the intelligence that since in these mournful days the hardships of loneliness and the grief of separation, the anxiety of religious duties and the absence of all traces of love and friendship have become my lot, I have sometimes in my restlessness travelled to the imperial city of Dihli and have there acquired the honour of visiting the blessed tombs (of the Saints), and at other times have gone to Agra to see my friendless children (may God guard them with his power !) who dwell there in retirement, and I was much disturbed in mind, when those kind letters from my lord¹ began to arrive at irregular intervals. I swear by God that they conveyed very much consolation and comfort to my mournful heart and for some days I took delight in studying and repeating them, and morning and evening I raised and still raise my hands in prayer to the All-Wise, praying Him to grant length of life to my lord¹ :—

Hemistich.

(I pray to) God that thou mayest live till the day of resurrection.

But I will not dilate further on this subject, and will commit it to the care of the All-Wise God who knows the truth, and passing to my ulterior (outward) object, will bring it to your consideration,² informing you that for a long time I endured

¹ The word used here is خدا, '(my lord's) servants.' The writer affects, as is usual in the language of oriental compliment, to be unworthy to mention the name of the person whom he addresses, and therefore speaks of his 'servants.' The best-known example of this idiom is the phrase بندهگان عالی ('the exalted slaves') for 'his majesty,' or 'your majesty.'

² مصدع میگردد, literally 'I become the means of giving you a headache.'

great grief and sorrow from hearing of the death of that repository of humanity, inseparably connected with liberality, him who had acquired all perfections, Mirzā Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad, and from the passing away of all the excellence of that phoenix of the age and of his love and faithful affection for you, my lord.¹ "Verily we are God's, and to Him do we return!" What can I say, and to whom can I confide these griefs, which assail me incessantly and repeatedly? At all events we are awaiting our own death, and we have no resource but the favour of the bountiful God. My tongue is now ever chanting this prayer, "O God have mercy upon us, behold the sweat of our brows and the multitude of our groans! May the physician be disappointed of us, and may our friends weep for us! O God, have mercy upon us when the earth surrounds us, and our friends love us! Scatter Thy favours among us, and may the wind cease to blow upon us!" I hope that our end will be good and that we shall preserve our faith unblemished. Since the bearer of this letter was in great haste to depart I have written it hurriedly at night, and have not been able to explain one thousandth part of the desire which I have towards your service. You will be able to conceive it in your pure heart, for verily hearts have intercourse one with another. Salutations and honour be upon you and on him who is with you, both first and last, both inwardly and outwardly."

XLIII. SHAIKH ABŪ'-L-FATH OF THĀNĒSAR.

He is one of the foremost among the wise men of the age and one of the chief among profound and eminent scholars. He acquired a thorough knowledge of Islamic tradition under Sayyid Rafi'u-d-dīn the traditionist, and has now dwelt for about fifty years in the quarter named after the above-mentioned *Mīr* in Agra, engaged in teaching those branches of knowledge which call for the exercise of the reasoning faculty as well as those which depend upon the memory. Many able and ready scholars have sat at his feet and have gone out into the world (with the fruits

¹ Vide footnote 1 of p. 78.

² نَحْوَل. Literally 'males,' 'virile men.'

of his teaching). Both I and Miyān Kamāl-u-d-dīn Husain, just mentioned, shared the benefits of being taught by this great man. His most noble and orthodox son, Shaiikh 'Isā, is now, by the emperor's appointment, the authorized deliverer of *fatwās*¹ in Agra.

XLIV. MAULĀNĀ 'UṢMĀN OF BANGĀL.

130 He was an old Shaiikh who took up his residence in Sambhal. Miyān Hātim of Sambhal² was his pupil, and used sometimes to visit him and request him to put up a *fatihah* on his behalf. On one occasion I, when I was in attendance on the late Miyān Hātim in my childhood, had the honour of waiting upon the Maulānā.

XLV. SHAIKH HUSAIN OF BAZHAR.³

He was one of the foremost among the distinguished men (of his day) and was employed in the instruction of students in the college of the imperial city of Dilli. In those branches of knowledge which depend on the memory and which are usually studied in India, he was the most accomplished man of his time. He had a generous disposition.

XLVI. MAULĀNĀ ISMĀ'IL THE 'ARAB.⁴

He was one of the contemporaries and equals in age of Shaiikh Husain. In knowledge of mathematics, philosophy, and medicine he was unequalled, and as a teacher he was associated with Shaiikh Husain, and by the blessing of their noble companionship the doors of bounty were opened to students. The *Maulavī* was possessed of considerable wealth, and one night some thieves, instigated by the inhabitants of the city, broke into his house and murdered him.⁵

XLVII. QĀZĪ MUBĀRAK OF GORĀMAU.⁶

He was a most learned man and performed the duties of his office of *Qāzī* with great integrity and honesty. He acquired his knowledge and good breeding from his teacher, Shaiikh Nizām-u-d-

¹ i.e. *mufti*.

² Vide p. 3.

³ Or Bazahr. I have not been able to identify this place.

⁴ Vide *Ain-i-Akbari*, i, 538.

⁵ Literally, 'caused him to attain martyrdom.'

⁶ Then a *pargana* town in the *Khairāhād sarkār* of the *shāh* of Awadh.

din of Ambēthi¹ (may his tomb be sanctified!), and the *Shaiikh*, from the time when the *Miyān* first began to study in his hospice, had a special regard for him and bestowed care on his education, and whenever the *Qāzī* used to make his request, saying, "Why should not I too receive my share from the reservoir of your saintship?" *Shaiikh* Nizāmu-d-din would always reply, "Qāzī Mubārak has devoured this world and gained (his reward in) the next." The *Qāzī* lived highly regarded, honoured, and respected 131 to the end of his life, and thus too took his departure to the next world.

Among the sages and learned men who came and settled in Gopāman for the purpose of studying under the *Qāzī* (on him be God's mercy!), and there grew to manhood, so that for the sake of profiting by their society men came from great distances, and attained to perfection thereby, was the respected Budh, who used to give instruction in all the books commonly studied. Another was Sayyid Muhiyy, of whom the same may be said, and there were others too in the same category. That caravan of sojourners has now reached its journey's end, leaving no successors, and the mansions and abodes of learning have now been cleared of the tigers of the forest of knowledge, so that those who, fox-like, are ever ready to creep into an earth, have taken their place. The author of the *Mushāriqu'l-Anwār* too makes the same complaint of his own time, saying no sooner is the den clear of the lioness with two cubs than the gravid vixen enters it in the morning.

Verse.

This one small loaf² remains to poor Ḥasan,
I fear that day when not even this will be left.

XLVIII. MAULĀNĀ VAIS OF GWĀLIYĀR.

He was a learned man, argumentative and disputatious, and in his knowledge of first principles and deductions therefrom he had

¹ Vide p. 27. Now a town in the District and *tahsil* of Hardoi, in the U. P., vide *Imp. Gazetteer of India*, new series, xii, §30. For mention of Qāzī Mubārak, vide *supra*, p. 31.

² *Ḍal*, diminutive of *ḍal*.

no equal in his time. The power of his memory¹ was such that in the midst of an argument when there was any necessity for an appeal to any authority, he would seem to recite from memory whole pages and would say, "This is what is written in such and such a book, look it up and see," and would thus confute his adversary, but afterwards, when the book was searched, no trace of the pretended quotation would be found. In this manner he one day confuted, in the imperial assembly, Maulānā Hiyās the astrologer, who had been the tutor of the Emperor Muḥammad Humāyūn, and had great skill and readiness in the preparation of astronomical tables, so that the Maulānā, disgusted with his opposition, set out from Court, and travelling through the *pargana* of Mohūn² in the *Sarkār* of Lakhnau, which was his *jāgīr*, he gave up his military appointment in the imperial service, and
 132 proceeded in haste to Gujarāt, and thence to Makkah the glorious, and thence went to the land of Irāq and Āzarbāijān, and Ardabil, which was his well-loved native land, and there he died. The story of his dealings with Shāh Ismā'il II is well known, and is briefly as follows: When Maulānā Hiyās arrived at Ardabil he wrote a letter to Shāh Ismā'il, who had been confined by Shāh Tahmāsp in the fortress of Qahqaha, saying, "From the aspects of the planets I have ascertained that in such a month you will obtain your freedom, and from the dungeon will attain to the highest rank, and will sit on the throne of the kingdom. Just as he had prophesied something was put into Shāh Tahmāsp's cup after a short space of time, and the affairs of Irāq fell into great confusion, and the *amīrs* and ministers of state summoned Shāh Ismā'il from his prison, by way of Ardabil, with a view of setting him on the throne. Now the *maulārī* had said in his letter, "On your way from Qahqaha, when you reach Ardabil it is necessary that you pay me a visit so that certain agreements and settlements may be made between us in your presence, and certain rites

¹ قوت حافظه. Badāoni should have said, 'his power of invention.'

² Vide *Āin-i-Akbari*, ii, 179. Mohūn is now a town in the *tahqīl* of the same name in the Unao District of the U. P., vide *Imp. Gazetteer of India*, new series, xvii, 383.

of exorcism may be performed while we are face to face." It so happened that Shāh Ismā'il was in great haste and did not visit the *maulavī's* house, but after leaving Ardabil he turned back and went to the *maulavī's* house with the object of waiting upon him. The *maulavī* shut the door of his mansion and refused to grant him an interview. After waiting a long time the king was compelled to break the door, and, entering the *maulavī's* room by force, waited upon him; but the *maulavī* covered his face, and, turning round, sat facing the wall and said, "The appointed hour passed, and you did not come; why should I now see your face?" Shāh Ismā'il turned away disappointed, and although he became king, the nobles of the realm, a year after he had ascended the throne, conspired to prompt his sister, Parijān Khānum, to attempt his life. He became cognizant of the plot, but before he could do anything to baffle it Parijān Khānum suffocated him and left his 133 room, closing the door behind her on his corpse.

XLIX. SHAIKH MUHAMMAD OF SYRIA.¹

He is a true ² 'Arab and is nephew to that Shaikh Zainu-d-din of Jabal-i-Āmili who was an ecclesiastical dignitary and religious guide among the Shi'ahs, and on whom the Sultan of Turkey after much finesse and many stratagems laid hands when he was in Makkah the glorious, and after summoning him to Constantinople, put him to death. Shaikh Muḥammad is ranked among the *manṣabdārs*, and is distinguished for his bravery and valour and noted for that generosity and liberality which are characteristic of the 'Arabs. He is also well known for his good breeding and courtesy and those branches of knowledge which are generally treated of in the Arabic language, and in the humanities generally his attainments are such that he may be called a second Kisā'i.³ The following letter, which he wrote in Lāhōr in answer

¹ Shaikh Muḥammad is not mentioned in the *Āin* as a *manṣabdār*.

² عربي. The expression may also mean 'a rough, or brutal, Arab.' MS. (A) has عربي, wrongly.

³ A celebrated grammarian and reader of the *Qur'ān*. Vide vol. i, trans., Ranking, p. 30, note 1.

to one from me, in which I had been guilty of some insolence, when our friendship first began, is an example of his correspondence.

[Here follow five letters in Arabic, of which the Editor of the Text writes in a footnote, "Be it known that the whole of the text of these five letters, from beginning to end, is full of errors, and I have found it impossible, notwithstanding the utmost care, to correct it from the three manuscripts at my disposal." After a careful examination of the text in MSS. (A) and (B) I am compelled to agree with the Editor. Professor T. W. Arnold, who has kindly come to my assistance, agrees with me that the text is so corrupt that no satisfactory translation of these letters can be given. He also agrees, however, that the text, unsatisfactory as it is, is sufficient to indicate that the letters are not worth translating and consist, almost entirely, of long strings of bombastic and extravagant compliments. For this reason I have refrained from an attempt to reconstruct the text from other MSS.—T. W. H.]

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L. SHAIKH ḤASAN 'ALĪ OF NAṢĪL.¹

Hē was the faithful pupil of Shāh Faṭḥu'llāh, but notwithstanding this he is an orthodox *Sunnī*. He entered the imperial service in the year in which Kābul was conquered, and was entrusted with the education of the emperor's eldest son until the young prince could repeat certain lessons from Persian and other treatises on philosophy. Shaikh Abū'l-Faḍl also for some time secretly received instruction from him in the exact sciences, and in physics, and other branches of philosophy, but notwithstanding this he never attempted to advance the Shaikh's interests, so that while he himself has his place on the carpet in the imperial presence his master takes his stand on the bare floor. Shaikh Ḥasan 'Alī, finding that the conduct of such men was not in accord with his religious views, gave up the allowance which he used to receive and went to Gujarāt, where he associated himself for a time with Mīrzā Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad. The

¹ Mosul in the maps, on the Tigris, opposite to the site of Nineveh.

latter, and his son, Muḥammad Sharīf, received much profitable instruction from him in those branches of knowledge which exercise the reasoning faculty, and in secular learning, so much so indeed, that they advanced to perfection therein.

After the death of Shāh Fathu-'llāh Shaikh Abū-'l-Faẓl and other courtiers recounted some of the Shaikh's accomplishments **137** and perfections in the imperial assembly, whereby the emperor was so impressed that Shaikh Ḥasan 'Alī is now (recognized as) the spiritual successor of Shāh Fathu-'llāh. At that time an imperial order was issued summoning Shaikh Ḥasan 'Alī to the imperial presence, and he accordingly came to Lāhōr, but when he paid his respects at Court Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad directed him to perform the *siyḍah* (instead of the *kūrnish*),¹ which so displeased him that he made his release from the obligation of performing the ceremony a condition of his attendance, and even in his house he could not bear (to witness at Court) so many things which were abominations to him, and "the elephant once more remembered Hindustan"² and on the plea of an intention to visit his mother he obtained leave to go to his own country, and in the year H. 998 (A.D. 1589-90) he arrived at Thatta, when the Khān-i-Khānān was governor of that province, and having attained to trust in God and contentment of heart he set out for his own country, and when he arrived at Hurmuz he sent a message to the officers of the imperial court saying, "Praise be to God! I am freed from the hypocritical companionship of my friends." Please God he has attained the object of his desires.

LI. QĀḌĪ NŪRU-'LLĀH OF SHUSHṬAR.³

Although he is by religion a Shī'ah⁴ he is distinguished for his impartiality, justice, virtue, modesty, piety, continence, and such qualities as are possessed by noble men, and is well known for his learning, clemency, quickness of understanding, singleness of

¹ Vide *Āin-i-Akbarī*, i, 159.

² A proverb descriptive of home-sickness.

³ More properly Shūshṭar. On the Kūrūn river, in Persia.

⁴ According to Mr. Blochmann (*Āin-i-Akbarī*, i, 545), Qāḍī Nūru-'llāh

heart, clearness of perception, and acumen. He is the author of several able works, and he has written a monograph on the "undotted commentary" ¹ of Shaiikh Faizī which is beyond all praise. He also possesses the poetic faculty and writes impressive poetry. He was introduced to the emperor by the instrumentality of the physician Abū-'l-Fath,² and when the victorious imperial army reached Lāhōr, and Shaiikh Mu'īn the Qāzī of Lāhōr, when he was paying his respects to the emperor, was afflicted suddenly in the presence chamber with the falling sickness, which came upon him in consequence of the feebleness of old age, and the failure of his natural powers, the emperor took pity on his weakness, and said, "The Shaiikh is past his work, 138 and we have therefore appointed Qāzī Nūru-'llāh to the post which he held." In truth he has reduced the insolent *muftīs* and the crafty and subtle *muhtasibs* of Lāhōr, who venture to give lessons to the teacher of the angels, to order, and has closed to them the avenues of bribery, and restrained them within due bounds as closely as a nut is enclosed in its shell, and to such a degree that stricter discipline could not be imagined. One might almost say that the author of the following verses had the Qāzī in his mind when he wrote them:—

"Thou art he who has never in all his life admitted

Any statement by anybody in a law-suit, except the sworn testimony of a witness."

One day when he was in the house of Shaiikh Faizī the Nishā-pūri commentary was the subject of discussion, and regarding the blessed verse:—"When he said to his companion, 'Be not cast down, verily God is with us,'"³—which verse is held, by the great majority of commentators, to refer to the greatest of

practised *taqiya*, or concealment of his religious views, among *Sunnīs*, and was well acquainted with the system of jurisprudence of Abū Hanifah. After Jahāngīr's accession he was recalled from Lāhōr. Once he offended the emperor by a hasty word, and was executed.

¹ The *Sawāfi'u-l-Ilhām*, vide *Āin-i-Akbarī*, i, 549.

² Vide *infra*, c. iii, no. viii.

³ اِنْ يَقُولُ لِمَا حَبَدَ لَا تَعِزُّنِ اِنَّ اِلَهًا مَعَنَا *Qur'ān*, ix, 39.

faithful witnesses of the truth (Abū Bakr)—may God be graciously pleased with him!—he said, “If the signification of the companionship referred to in the text be trifling and unimportant then the expression cannot be understood as conveying praise of anybody, but if it be said that the word is used in the conventional sense which has been attributed to it by traditionists, we come back to the question under debate, and I deny that there was any companionship (in that sense).”¹ I replied, “If a mere child even who knew the Arabic language were asked he would say that this verse clearly involves praise (of the person referred to therein) and not blame, and an African infidel, or a Jew, or a Hindū who knew Arabic, would give the same reply.” There was much controversy on the subject, and Shaiḫ Faizī after his usual vile custom took the side of the Qāḏī, though he actually had nothing whatever in common with either side. Suddenly a passage was turned up, in the Nishāpūri commentary itself, which supported my contention, and even went beyond it, saying that the verse, supposing that the prophet (may God bless and preserve him!) had at that moment been summoned to the immediate presence of God, would have been authority for

¹ The original is rather stilted, and is not easy to translate. The Qāḏī, arguing as a Shī'ah, contended that the word Ṣāḥib (“companion”) might be interpreted in two ways. It might be translated literally, without any ulterior signification, in which case its application to Abū Bakr could confer no honour upon him, for it would mean nothing more than that he chanced to be in the company of Muḥammad. The other signification, the technical or conventional meaning referred to by the Qāḏī, is the signification given by Sunnī traditionists to the word Ṣāḥib when used in connection with the first three Khālifahs, Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, and ‘Uthmān. These three were, the traditionists argue, the chosen and constant companions of Muḥammad, whose object in admitting them to this intimate companionship was to draw attention to the fact that they had been selected as his spiritual successors, and to qualify them for the posts they were to fill after his death. The Qāḏī objects to the assumption that the word Ṣāḥib bears this conventional meaning, as a *petitio principii*. Badāonī, as a Sunnī, argues that whatever may be the precise signification of the word Ṣāḥib, the verse confers honour on Abū Bakr, and contends that anybody acquainted with Arabic and ignorant of theology would at once see that it did so.

regarding Abū Bakr and no other as the successor nominated by the prophet himself.

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LII. HAJI IBRĀHĪM THE TRADITIONIST.

He lived in Āgra, leading an ascetic, abstemious, and pious life, and occupied in teaching divinity, and especially the traditions of the prophet. His strict observance of the holy law and his asceticism prevented him from mixing or associating with his fellow-men. He was in the habit of delivering authoritative commands and prohibitions in matters of faith. When, in obedience to a summons from Court, he attended the '*ʿIbādatkhāna*, he declined to observe the etiquette and ceremonies of the Court and used to preach and utter admonitions (without respect of persons). To *Kh'āja* 'Abdu-ṣ-Ṣamad of *Shirāz*, who, by reason of his habit of letting out for hire old cotton cloth for decorations, is known as *Kh'āja* 'Abdu-'Ilāh,¹ and is much occupied with ceremonial prayers and fasts, and with supererogatory prayers and outward devotions, and had great faith in the *Hājī*, he used to say, "*Kh'āja*, all these observances will profit you nothing until you give a place in your heart to love for the orthodox successors of the prophet."

LIII. SHAIKH JALĀL-I-WĀṢIL,² OF KĀLPĪ.³

He is one of the spiritual successors of *Shaikh* Muḥammad *Ghaṣ*.⁴ Early in his career he acquired perfection (in learning), but later he no longer allowed such matters to burden his memory and gave himself up wholly to the delight of listening to the chants of mystics, and to fits of religious ecstasy. His majesty the emperor has a very high opinion of him. On the whole there was less of striving after appearances among the spiritual successors of *Shaikh* Muḥammad *Ghaṣ* than among

¹ I do not understand the applicability of this nickname.

² *وکیل*. The word means 'united (with God).'

³ Then the chief town of the *Sarkār* of the same name in the *Śiba* of Āgra. Now the chief town of a *taḥṣīl* of the same name in the Jalaun District of the U.P. Vide *Imp. Gazetteer of India*, new series, xiv, 318.

⁴ See p. 6.

those of Shaikh Salim,¹ though each sect decried and sought to ruin the other; and now the words of 'Ali, the leader of the faithful (may God be graciously pleased with him!), which he spoke on hearing the blessed verse, "The Jews say, 'the Christians are grounded on nothing,' and the Christians say, 'the Jews are grounded on nothing!'"² are applicable to both parties. 'Ali said, on hearing this verse, "We believe it." Praise be to God, no trace of either sect remains.

LIV. MALIK MAHMŪD-I-PIYĀRŪ.

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He possessed such outward accomplishments as a knowledge of Arabic, Qur'anic commentaries, the traditions, and miscellaneous Persian compositions in prose and poetry, and was also adorned with spiritual perfection in such matters as devotion, piety, a mystic longing for union with God,³ and religious ecstasy. He was descended from the *maliks* of the land of Gujarāt, and his venerable father bore the name of Malik Piyārū. Malik Mahmūd, owing to the elegance and copiousness of his discourse, his knowledge, and his ingenuity, was accorded the great honour of conversing with the *Khālīfah* of the age, in the heavenly assemblies held at Court, and ingratiated himself with his majesty, and owing to the great pleasure which he took in rendering any service to the godly, he was for some time favoured by being appointed to and associated with the glorious post of the trusteeship of the blessed tomb of that pole-star of saints who have become united with God, *Kh'āja Mu'īnu-d-dīn-i-Sanjārī-yi-Cishti* (may God sanctify his tomb!). But notwithstanding all the favour which the emperor bestowed upon him and the faith which he had in him, and his nearness to the emperor's person, owing to the all-mastering love and overpowering desire and the strength of the mystic bonds by which he was bound to that pole-star of the heaven of chiefship and centre of the circle of happiness, the lord *Shāh-i-'Ālam* of *Bukhārā*, one of the sons of

¹ See p. 18.

و قالت اليهود ليست النصرى على شيء وقالت النصرى ليست اليهود على شيء *Qur'ān*, ii, 111.

³ ذوق See p. 11, note 4.

Makhdūm-i-Jahāniān of Bukhārā¹ (may God sanctify his honoured tomb!), him who was the beloved of the possessors of true knowledge, and who was sought after by travellers in the right path, Malik Maḥmūd exerted all the influence and employed all the interest which he possessed in preferring his request that he might be permitted to depart from Court and undertake the guardianship of the holy man's tomb, employing himself in the circumambulation of its threshold, the dwelling-place of angels, and urged his request with an utter disregard of the emperor's wishes. Since he was thoroughly sincere in his intention and design, and was altogether free from any suspicion of hypocrisy or worldly designs, his prayer was naturally granted, but after much discussion and debate, and he retired to the corner of contentment and resignation, passing most of his blessed time in Aḥmadābād in the service of that shrine until he departed from its parterres to those of the abode of peace.

- 141 The author had the honour of being admitted to his joy-diffusing presence in Faṭḥpūr and Ajmīr.

The following opening couplet of a *qaṣīdāh* is by the *Malik*:—

"I have an ever-veering heart which nevertheless I call my
qibla-numā,²

Whithersoever I turn it, it still turns towards His eye-brow."

LV. ṢADR-I-JAHĀN,³ OF PIHĀNĪ.

Pihānī is a village in the district of Qannauj.⁴ Ṣadr-i-Jahān

¹ See vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 376.

² That which points to the *qibla*, or the direction in which to pray.

³ See *Āin-i-Akbarī*, i, 468. Ṣadr-i-Jahān was both the Mirān's personal name and the name of the office to which he was appointed in the 34th year. He was one of the signatories to the deed which acknowledged Akbar's spiritual supremacy as well as his temporal supremacy. His position with regard to the 'divine faith' is not clear, but he evidently temporized. During the reign of Jahāngīr, who was very fond of him, he was promoted to a command of four thousand, and received Qannauj as *tuyūl*. He died in A.D. 1611 at the age, it is believed, of 120 years. See also vol. ii, text, *passim*.

⁴ According to the *Ma'āzīru-l-Umarā* Pihānī is near Lakhnau, but from

is a learned *Sayyid* of a happy disposition, most of whose life has been passed in the camp. He acquired his great learning under the tuition of *Shaiikh* 'Abdu-'n-Nabi,¹ and it was in consequence of the *Shaiikh's* exertions that he was appointed chief *mufti* of the empire, a post which he held for several years. After the religious leaders of India had fallen into disgrace, his habits of submission to authority and his time-serving and worldly disposition led him to regard before everything the honour and esteem which he enjoyed in the world. He accompanied the physician Humām² on his embassy to the ruler of Tūrān,³ and when he returned thence he was honoured by being appointed *Ṣadr* of the empire. At the time when it was noised abroad in Lāhūr that those who remained of the 'Ulamā were to be banished to Makkah the glorious, and a list of them had been prepared, the *Ṣadr-i-Jahān* said one day, "I fear lest I may have been included in this class." Mirzā Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad, who had prepared the list, said, "Why should you be sent to Makkah?" The *Ṣadr-i-Jahān* asked the Mirzā, why he needed to ask the question, and the Mirzā replied, "You have never given utterance to God's words, that you should be worthy of this banishment."

The *Ṣadr-i-Jahān*, notwithstanding his poetic gifts and his great aptitude for writing poetry, now repents of his former devotion to the art. The following opening couplet of a *qaṣīdah* is by him :—

the fact that *Ṣadr-i-Jahān* received Qannauj as *tuyūl* in Jahāngir's reign it would appear that Badāoni is right.

¹ Vide *supra*, no. x.

² Vide *infra*, Chap. iii, no. x.

³ The object of this embassy was to answer a letter which 'Abdu-'llāh *Khān* Uzbek had written to Akbar, questioning him regarding his apostasy from Islām. The answer which they took to 'Abdu-'llāh contained the following Arabic verses :—

قيل إن الرسول قد كذبنا
من لسان الورى فكيف أنا

قيل إن الإله ذو ولد
عما نجا الله والرسول معا

"Of God it has been said that He had a Son; of the prophet it has been said that he was a sorcerer. Neither God nor the prophet has escaped the slander of men,—then how should I?"

“ May each hair of my beloved's locks,
 O God, become an affliction,
 And may my heart be afflicted with each one of those
 afflictions ! ”

I pray that, if it please God, he may be given grace to repent of foolish disputations on points of secular knowledge, of hypocrisy, ostentation, self-esteem, and extravagant boasting, which he must have learnt from one possessed of a devil, just as he has repented of writing poetry.

LVI. SHAIKH YA'QŪB OF KASHMĪR.¹

He assumed as a poet the *nom-de-plume* of *Sarfi*, and in him were displayed both the accomplishments of learning and the perfect qualities which distinguish a pious man. He was the spiritual successor of the great master Shaikh Husain of Kh'ārazm (may God sanctify his tomb!), and acquired honour by performing the pilgrimage to the two most excellent holy places. He received from Shaikh Ibn-u Hajar a licence to give instruction in the traditions of Muḥammad, and clad in the robes of a Shaiikh he travelled much and visited most of the Shaiikhs of Arabia and Persia, and profited much by his intercourse with them, and received authority to assume the prerogatives of a religious teacher and spiritual guide, and as such he had many disciples, both in Hindūstān and Kashmīr. He was the superior of an hospice. He was the author of some sublime and beautiful works, and completed a Khamsah,¹ and wrote many treatises on the art of composing enigmas, and also quatrains on the mysticism of the Sūfis, with a commentary. His works, indeed, are too numerous to be recapitulated, and had it not been necessary that some slight mention should be made of his Sūfi-ism, and his mystic longing for God, even these few works could not have been noticed. He was illustrious and much relied upon as an authority in all branches of learning which are treated of in Arabic, such as Quranic commentaries, the traditions of Muḥammad, and Sūfi-ism, and he was an authorized religious leader.

¹ A series of five *magnavis*, in imitation of the Khamsah of Nizāmi.

Latterly, not long before his death, he was writing a commentary which was one of the most wonderful productions of his perfect genius. Both the late emperor and his present majesty had a wonderful belief in him and conferred distinction on him by admitting him to the honour of their society, regarding him with gracious favour, so that he was held in high estimation and much honoured. He was generous and open-handed beyond anything that can be imagined of his contemporaries.

Although his poetry was very poor, in accordance with the verse:—"Poetry does not become the learned," he used nevertheless, continually to exercise his intellect in this direction. These following few couplets are by him:—

Couplets.¹

"I see that comely face manifest in whatever I regard. 143

"Though I look at a hundred thousand mirrors in all that one face is manifest.

"On all sides people are wandering in search of the Friend.

"And the strange thing is that the Friend is manifest on every side."

Other couplets by the Shaiikh are these:—

"Thy mole lurks near the corner of thine eyebrow to deceive,

"Wherever a recluse, lurking in a corner, is to be found, deceit is in him."

"Break not my heart, Oh grief! and regard not whose that heart may be.

"The heart is indeed mine, but consider who dwelleth there."

"If thou sayest to him, "It behoves that Thy foot pass over my head,"

"(Remember that) thou shouldst at once forsake all thought of self."

This enigma on the name of Shaidā is also by the Shaiikh:—

¹ The following verses are all mystical.

"My moon hath cast the veil from off her face,

"See, how she hath of set purpose turned day into night!"

At the time when he obtained permission to depart from Lāhor to his dearly loved native land, he wrote to me from the far side of the river Rāwī a letter, which I copy here as a fortunate relic.

"My helper and my mighty one! After laying before you the prayers and supplications of true friendship, I represent to your mind, brilliant as the sun, that the cause of your neglecting to observe, in respect of your sincere and true friend, one most excellent institution was probably the fact that, though the approved custom of travelling with a friend for a part of his journey is one of the requirements of the observance of setting
144 him on his way, you were not able at the present time to perform this office and therefore could not help but leave it undone. I hope, however, that you will not entirely efface the memory of me from the margin of your bounteous heart, and that you will adopt the graceful habit of remembering the absent. If you should have any need of Kashmīr paper for rough notes and drafts I hope that you will inform me of the fact, so that I may send you from Kashmīr the rough copy of my commentaries, the writing of which can be washed from the paper with water so completely that no trace of the ink will remain, as you yourself have seen. And now peace be with you and grace be upon you."

When he reached Kashmīr he sent me from there another letter, which was the last he wrote. I copy it here.

"In the presence of the bounteous Shaikh 'Abdu-l-Qādir, him who is removed beyond the need of praise, recommendation, or encomium, that is to say our lord and leader in learning, may this letter be opened.

Without a doubt Badāoni excels Dawwānī¹

In all branches of learning,

¹ Muhaddiq-i-Dawwānī, the famous logician. His name in Persian script is دوانی, while Badāoni is بداونی, which Shaikh Ya'qūb would, for the purposes of this conceit, metamorphose into بدوانی by the transposition of two letters, thus converting it into Dawwānī with the addition of one letter (ب). The play upon the two names is somewhat clumsy.

Thus a proof of the superabundance of the signification of his name,

Is that its very beginning appears to be redundant.

As to the suppliant letters which from time to time I send to you, although owing to their not being worthy of an answer I do not trouble your wonder-describing pen to write one, nevertheless the pen of sincere friendship cannot be restrained from running on in (its desire of) setting forth my submission to you. I hope that whenever you sit in the Nawwāb Faḡī Fāyyāzī's¹ apartment of fragrant grass,² on the floor with its matting cooler than the breezes of Kashmir, in the midday heat of summer,³ drinking the water which, though warm, has been cooled with ice, and listening to sublime talk and witty conversation, you will think on me, the captive of the hardships of disappointment."

Couplets.

"Ah! ye who meet in the cheerful assembly of union extend
a helping hand to the absent.

"For the hand of those who thus meet is never withheld
from the absent."

"I pray you to accept, on behalf of your most honoured, most **145**
orthodox, and most glorious son, Shaikh Muḥṡyū-d-dīn Muḥammad, my humble submission. May God, the most Holy and most High, assist him in the acquirement of all knowledge, both secular and spiritual, by the honour of him⁴ who was named with the name of his sublime title (may his pure tomb be hallowed!).

It is probable that, owing to your claims as a neighbour to confidence, you may have heard what that resort of chiefship,

¹ The text has 'Fāyyāzī' only. MS. (A), which I follow, has 'Faḡī Fāyyāzī.'

² خزانة, 'a house of *Aḡḡ*.' *Aḡḡ* is a fragrant grass (*andropogon muricatus*). See vol. i, trans. Ranking, 411, note 1

³ تموز, the Syrian month corresponding with July. The word is omitted from MS. (B).

⁴ i.e. the prophet Muḥammad, from whom Badā'ūnī's son had one of his names

Mirāu Sayyid Qutbu-d-din, had to say with regard to his failure to answer my humble letter to him, but it behoves you rather to regard my essential claims upon you, for these claims are clearly to be preferred to the claim of mere neighbourhood; and likewise you should not place too much confidence in the display of affection which the worshipful Mirāu makes, for in the end it has no stability. God the most High knows the truth!

I have lost the rough copy of the verses which I wrote in the new *Āsafkhānī* style, explaining what had not previously been clearly expressed. It is possible that you, my honoured friend, may have taken a copy from my rough draft, and, if so, I pray you to send me a copy of your copy. If you answer this letter it will be well. (I call to mind) God!"

Verses by the Author.¹

"O thou, at the thought of whose face intimacy comes back to me,
My desire cannot be borne on paper,
As the lofty mountain cannot be weighed in a balance,
And as the ocean cannot be measured by a water-gango.

Why should I sing your praises? They are far beyond the pretensions of the bald style and the impotent rhetoric of me, 'Abdu-l-Qādir; and any attempt to comprise them therein would resemble the endeavour to imprison the sea in a jug."

Poetry.

"And what shall I say of my blessings on you?
No bird of devotion flies from me to the lote-tree of Paradise,
For no bird bears in his beak a list of my blessings on thee.
Why should I say anything of my desire of seeing you again?

Quatrain.

O thou whose hand has been held in my two hands,
Who hast hindered me from the enjoyment of health,

¹ These verses begin a letter from Badā'oni to *Shāikh* Ya'qūb.

It is impossible, that I should record my desire towards thee, 146
The strong desire that I have towards thee.

Since the time when you saw fit to take your departure hence to the land where you now dwell, the interpreter of divine secrets, by which expression may be understood the root of the elements of true knowledge, gladdened me by coming to me repeatedly, both for a few days before and a few days after the festival of the new year, conveying to me the truth contained in the following couplet from the *Ten Sayings of Good Tidings*:¹—

Couplet.

“This day a tall and comely man, in his own city,
Sits with his bride, rejoicing in his good fortune.”

You wrote with that pen which cherishes the poor and distils musk,

“Without a doubt Badāonī, excels Dawwānī,” etc.

I reply to those verses in the following *maṣṇavi*:—

O thou whose tongue is the key of the Hidden Book,
Whose pure heart is an outcome of the Infallible,
Thy pen hath displayed miracles,
The hidden treasures of “Be, and it was.”²
Thou saidst, with a logic which nourishes the intelligence,
“Badāonī is more pleasant than Dawwānī.”³
Whether it be of Dawwānī or of Badāonī (that thou speakest),
Both subjects receive all their wealth from the treasure-house of thy grace.
My heart has become the mirror of thy beauty,
The place where thy never-failing bounty is displayed.
What wonder then if, in regarding it truly,
Thou shouldst see thyself there?

If these verses be mere ostentation then let this much suffice.
Who am I that I should presume in answering you? I have had

¹ I have not been able to find any mention of this work elsewhere.

² کن فیکون, i.e. ‘creation.’

³ Vide *supra*, p. 202, note 1,

recourse to poetry, wherein I have loosed the tongue of deprecation, seeking forgiveness, and asking pardon for my remissness in observing the custom of writing friendly letters, a custom which is contrary to the habit and wont of the vulgar, nay, may rather be described as one of the peculiar characteristics of those who are raised above the common herd, as you yourself know well, and, regarding this letter as atonement for my fault, I count it full satisfaction of all that is past.

147 As for what you wrote regarding the air of the apartment of fragrant grass, and the iced water, it brought to my mind the following verse:—

“Of life (is left) but that which is ice in summer heat.”

And reminded me of the saying, “O company of Muslims, have pity upon him whose stock-in-trade has declined,” for it is some days since I have enjoyed that cool air and that iced water.

“The wolf’s mouth is bloody, but he has not torn Yūsuf,”¹

Verse.

“Let him who imagines that love is an easy matter come, and look upon my face, and from its haggardness he will understand that lovē is a hard matter.”

His Majesty, who is near the sun in excellence, has, for some reason, and without the intervention of any person whatsoever, taken the name of me, the humblest of his slaves, on his blessed tongue, expressing some intention of bestowing on me the trusteeship of (the shrine in) the exalted region of Ajmer.

Verse.

Those tents have vanished from the sight of me, the watcher,
Peace be on the dwellers therein, is the wish which I would
have conveyed.

¹ i.e. ‘I have not done as you suppose, though appearances may be against me.’ The reference is to the story of Joseph. According to the *Qur’ān* (chap. xii) the sons of Jacob told their father that a wolf had devoured Joseph. In the Old Testament version of the story (Gen. xxxvii. 20, 33) the brethren merely led their father to suppose that an evil beast (‘fera pessima’) had devoured him.

Nevertheless I have not yet been installed in the office,¹ and it is my earnest desire that the effects of this good fortune may soon emerge from the region of probabilities into that of accomplished facts. Then my heart will be independent of the water of the whirlpools of daily life and the unwholesome air of every country, and the coolness of pure truth will become my portion, so that the rubbish-heap of the world will appear to me to be no more than rubbish, and the iced water of the times a mere mirage. My wretched lot impels me to be chanting ever this mournful refrain:—

“Wonder of wonders that your heart is not disgusted, and
your soul is not sick

With the putrid odours which arise from these unwholesome waters.”

The ambition and object of me, your well-wisher, is that you will strive to help me in all matters, worldly and spiritual, so that when I go to Ajmīr² I may remember that the name of the place rhymes with Kashmīr inasmuch as each delightful place 148 is the pivot of one of the two axes, or rather the two extremities, north and south, of the same axis, which extends in either direction. “A delectable city, and a forgiving God!”

Just as you, in Kashmīr, will be drinking the ice water³ of the fount Jhālārā,⁴ so shall I be moistening my tongue with the limpid water of thanks and praise to the Giver of all good things, both spiritual and bodily.

Verse.

To the bounteous may their bounty be pleasant.

And to the poor lover that which he sips.

A counterpart of my present condition would be the revealing of that which has been disclosed to the inspired. Your servant's

¹ Badāoni was disappointed of this office, which would have suited him very well. See vol. ii, text, pp. 400, 401. The shrine was that of Kh'āja Mu'īnu-d-dīn Qishti.

² Ajmīr is now usually spelt Ajmer.

³ آب برقی according to both MSS. The text has, wrongly, آب برقی.

⁴ I have not been able to find mention of this fountain elsewhere.

son has gone to Badāon, where he is employed in putting up prayers for you. May your sublime shadow never grow less!

Written in the month of Ramazān the blessed, dispensing blessings, in the year H. 1003 (May-June, 1595)."

The following ode is one of the productions of the Shaikh's pearl-scattering and jewel-dispersing pen, which he wrote to me during one of his travels.

Ode.

"At the moment when I was writing this letter,
My tears were flowing, mingled with blood,
All the writing which was set forth by my pen,
The letter of my longing for you, has been blotted out from my heart.

The bitterness of separation is medicine.

Şarfi, so great is the flood of my tears that the nine oceans to me

Seem but as the dropping of rain."

To be brief I may say that one so feeble and so devoid of the graces of speech as I has not the power to recount fully the excellent qualities and perfection of the noble Shaikh. The noble works which he has left behind him, and which have, as one may say, put a girdle round the day of resurrection, are a sufficient witness to what he was. On the 18th of Zī-qa'dah, in the year H. 1003 (July 25, 1595) the bird of his soul, whose nest was holiness, escaping from the cage of this world of confinement, flew to that of liberation, and the words "He was the Shaikh of nations" were found to give the date of his death.¹

Verse.

Peace be to the world, for pleasant are its blessings.

As though Yūsuf were sitting in it.

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Verses.

Seek not in this waste spot the road to the treasure-house of your desire,

شیخ اسم بود¹, giving the date 1003.

received authority to propound and expound this tradition, he having received it through only six intermediaries from that holy one who was the seal of prophecy (on him and on his family be blessings without end!) The authenticity of the tradition of this saying is related in detail in the *Najātu-r-Rashīd*.¹

The *Maulānā*, at the time of the *Khān-i-Zamān*'s rebellion, came from Agra to Dihli, further than which place I have not been able to trace him, so that I do not know the (latter) circumstances of his auspicious life.

LVIII. QĀZĪ ABŪ-'L-MA'ĀLĪ.²

He is the disciple, the spiritual successor, and also the son-in-law of the Governor³ of Bukhārā (may his honoured tomb be sanctified!). The venerable Governor was so learned in law and divinity that if we may suppose that all the books on the theology of the *Hanafī*⁴ school had disappeared from the world, he would have been able to write them afresh. It was on his account that 'Abdu'llāh Khān,⁵ the king of Tūrān, put a stop to the study of logic and dialectics in his dominions, and expelled Mullā 'Iṣāmu-d-dīn of Isfārāin with his vile pupils from Transoxiana. The circumstances were as follows: After the study of logic and dialectics had gained ground in Bukhārā and Samarqand vile and wicked students, whenever they met a pious and simple-minded man, used to say, "This fellow is an ass, for he will deny the proposition that he is an animal,"⁶ and, since the

¹ By Badāonī. See vol. i, trans., Ranking, p. 511, note 2, and p. 600, note 3.

² See vol. ii, text, p. 49.

³ عزیزان, honorific plural of عزیز, most commonly used in this sense with regard to Joseph (عزیز مصر), Governor of Egypt.

⁴ The school of Abū Hanīfah, one of the four great Sunnī doctors of the law.

⁵ 'Abdu'llāh Khān Uzbek, King of Transoxiana.

⁶ This appears to be the author's meaning, though the literal translation is 'he denies the proposition لا حیوان ('no animal'). My late friend Shamsu-l-'Ulamā Shaiikh Mahmūd-i-Gilāni informed me that the passage

the Shaiḫs of Khurāsān. Maulānā Mir-i-Kalān was endowed with both inward and outward perfection and was a profound sage, being especially proficient in the traditions, in which respect he was the wonder of the age. He had authority from Sayyid Mirak Shāh¹ to teach this branch of knowledge. He was highly regarded by Maulānā Zainu-d-dīn Maḥmūd, the bow-maker² (may his honoured tomb be sanctified!). He was preserved by God, the most Holy and most High, from all sins, mortal and venial, and was ever employed in teaching divinity, and passed his life with his eyes cast down in meditation. He was the disciple of Shaiḫh Jalāl of Hirāt, who was one of the most famous of great Shaiḫs. Maulānā Mir-i-Kalān acquired a disposition like that of Muḥammad (may God bless and assoil him!), and his angelic nature was a manifestation of the (ninety-nine) attributes of God. He attained the age of eighty years, and his mother, who was a *Sayyidah*, was living at the time of his death. He never married, for fear lest his wife should not subject herself to his mother, and thus he passed away in his mother's lifetime. At the time when the *Maulavī* passed away to the eternal abode his mother was engaged in reading the glorious *Qur'ān*, and when they conveyed to her the news of the death of so precious a son, and asked her permission to proceed with the last rites she recited the noble verse, "We are God's, and to Him do we return," and continued her reading of the *Qur'ān*, without a sign of weeping or lamentation. The Maulānā 152 passed away to the Presence of God's mercy in Agra, in the year H. 981 (A.D. 1573-74), and was buried also in Agra, and a year later his mother too journeyed to the next world and obtained the felicity of rejoining her blessed son.

I was blessed and honoured by meeting with the Maulānā of angelic disposition, but I received no instruction from him.

LX. MAULĀNĀ SA'ID OF TURKISTĀN.³

He was the most learned of the sages of his time. Some of

¹ See vol. ii, text, loc. cit.

² Mr. Blochmann suggests (*Āin-i-Akbarī*, i, 539) that this saint may be identical with Shaiḫh Ruknu-d-dīn Maḥmūd, the bow-maker.

³ He came from Transoxiana to India in A.D. 1560-61, and was unable

LXI. Himantopus.

receiving many substantial marks of the imperial favour he set out, by way of Gujarāt, on a pilgrimage to the two holy places, Makkah and Madīnah, whence he proceeded to Turkey, where he was presented to the Sultān of Turkey, and in that country received ten times more honour and attention than he had received in India, so that even the office of grand *vazīr* of the empire was offered to him. This office he declined, and returned to Transoxiāna, where he died. I never had the honour of paying my respects either to Ḥāfiẓ-i-Kūmakī or to Maulānā Sa'id.

LXII. QĀZĪ NIZĀM OF BADAKHSHĀN.¹

He received the title of Qāzī Khān, and was a native of Badakhshān, where his home was situated near a ruby-mine. In such branches of knowledge as are acquired by study he was the pupil of Maulānā 'Iṣmā-d-dīn Ibrāhīm, and also studied under Mullā Sa'id. He had a great taste for and proficiency in Sūfi-istic studies, and in these, the way of truth, he was the disciple of the greatest of leaders, Shaikh Ḥusain of Kh'ārazm. In consequence of his close adherence to the esoteric school he has also acquired much respect among men of the world, and in Badakhshān was one of the nobles of the State. When he came to India he obtained unbounded honour, receiving first the title of Qāzī Khān, and afterwards that of Ghāzī Khān. He was eloquent and his delivery was pleasing. He was the author of some standard works, among which was a treatise on the proof of the word (of God) and an account of the religion of truth and verity. He also wrote marginal notes on the commentary on the dogmas of the faith, and numerous treatises on Sūfi-ism. He passed away to the presence of God's mercy at the age of seventy in the year H. 992 (A.D. 1584) in Awadh. He was the first person to suggest the performance of the ceremony of prostration² before

¹ For a full account of Qāzī Nizām, or Ghāzī Khān, who was a commander of nine hundred, see *Āin-i-Akbarī*, i, 119. He first received the title of Qāzī Khān from Salāhīn King of Badakhshān. This title seems to have been confirmed or recognized on, or shortly after, his arrival in India, and he afterwards received the title of Ghāzī Khān.

² See *Āin-i-Akbarī*, i, 159. This invention flattered the vanity of Akbar

the emperor. Mullā 'Ālim of Kābn used to say regretfully, "Alas, that I was not the inventor of this ordinance!"

LXIII. MAULĀNĀ ILĀHDĀD-I-LANGARKHĀNĪ.

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He comes from a quarter in Lāhōr. He is well versed in all such branches of knowledge as are included in the ordinary curriculum, and is a profound scholar. He rules his life in accordance with the holy law, and is abstinent, and most pious and religious. He employs his time in teaching. He has never visited the houses of worldly and unpolished men, and has never asked assistance from the great ones of the earth, nor accepted the usual subsistence allowance made to religious teachers. He is nearly eighty years of age.

LXIV. MAULĀNĀ MUḤAMMAD, THE *Muḥṭī*.¹

He is one of the most respected teachers of Lāhor. He is endowed with many perfect qualities and is employed as *Muḥṭī*. On each occasion on which he completes the perusal of the *Ṣaḥīḥu-l-Bukhārī*² or the *Mishkāt*³ he gives a great entertainment, regaling his guests with *bughrā khānīs*⁴ and sweetmeats. His assembly is the meeting-place of the most learned men. The Maulānā, now that he has reached the age of ninety years, and is bent and feeble, has given up teaching. He has four or five orthodox sons, all of whom are in learning and accomplishments worthy successors of their father.

more, probably, than any innovation introduced in his reign, and the inventor was proportionately rewarded. Hence the regretful ejaculation of Mullā 'Ālim.

¹ See *Āin-i-Akbarī*, i, 541.

² A collection of authentic traditions, in which an account of Imām Bukhārī is given. See vol. i. trans., Ranking, 6 and note 3.

³ *Mishkāt-i-Maṣābiḥ*, a celebrated collection of Traditions. See vol. i, trans., Ranking, 58, note 3, *et passim*.

⁴ A dish invented by Bughrā Khān, King of Khwārazm. It consists of quadrangular sections of paste, dressed with gravy or milk.

LXVI. SHAIKH MANŞÜR OF LĀHŌR.

He is one of the disciples of Shaiḫ Ishāq i-Rākū,¹ and acquired most of his learning under Maulānā Sa'du-'llah,² with whom he was connected by marriage. He is a learned and able man and is proficient in all such philosophical learning as is usually studied in India. He has a pleasant disposition and a sound understanding, which enables him reading to grasp a subject. He associates much with the nobles and chief men of the State and is resorted to by them. For some time he held the post of chief *Qāḏī* of Mālwa, and when the emperor set up his court at Lāhōr, he left Mālwa and paid his respects at Court. He is now employed in the administration of the *pargana* of Bajwāra³ and the submontane districts. His son Mullā 'Alā'u-d-dīn was one of the most famous of the learned men employed in teaching, and was for some time among the companions of the *Khān-i-Khānān*, by whom he was highly regarded and much honoured. When he entered the imperial service he also received much honour, and though much pressed and urged to enter the 156 military service he declined to do so, and employed himself in teaching, spending whatever he received from his *jāgīr* on the students whom he taught. Of all the *Mullās* in India, after Pīr Muḥammad *Khān*, there was nobody so famous as Mullā 'Alā'u-d-dīn and Mullā Nūr Muḥammad Tarkhān for generosity, liberality, and open-handedness. Mullā 'Alā'u-d-dīn has written well-known marginal notes on the *Sharḥ 'Aqū'id*.⁴ He attained to the honour of performing the pilgrimage of the *Hajj* and is buried in the holy land of pilgrimage. I never met him.

LXVII. MULLĀ PĪR MUḤAMMAD OF SHĪRVĀN.⁵

He was a *Mullā* of good understanding and great penetration,

¹ See p. 85.

² The grammarian; he also was one of the pupils of Shaiḫ Ishāq.

³ From the mention of the submontane districts it is clear that this *pargana* was the Bajwāra in the Bet Jālandhar Dūāb *Sarkār* of the *Śūba* of Lāhor.

⁴ I have not been able to identify this work.

⁵ For an account of Mullā Pīr Muḥammad *Khān* of Shīrvān, see *Āin-i-*

and gathered round him a cheerful company. Notwithstanding this he was hard-hearted man, and took no heed to do that which was lawful or avoid that which was unlawful. He came from Shīrvān and entered the service of the Khān-i-Khānān, Bairam Khān, in Qandahār, and received advancement. After the reconquest of Hindūstān he received the title of Khān, and afterwards that of Nāṣiru-l-Mulk, and lived for three or four years in the greatest honour and consideration, but since the days of the wicked are few, he was shortly afterwards drowned¹ in the river Narbada in Mālwa, and joined Pharaoh in the Nile of hell. His death has been recorded in the history of the reign. I saw him from afar, but, thank God, I never associated with him.

LXVIII. MIRZĀ MUFLIS THE ŪZBEK.²

He was one of the disciples of Mullā Aḥmad-i-Jand.³ He was an able *Mullā*, and quick and ready in controversy, but was not eloquent, and when engaged in teaching behaved grotesquely. His figure was ungainly. He spent his time in religious retirement. He came from Transoxiana to India, and taught for four
157 years in the *jāmi'* masjid of Kh'āja Mu'īnu-d-dīn-i-Farankhūdi⁴ in Āgra. By the grace of God he was enabled to perform the pilgrimage to the two holy places, and in Makkah the glorious he departed this life, dying at the age of seventy.

LXIX. MAULĀNĀ NŪRU-D-DĪN MUḤAMMAD TARKHĀN.⁵

He had a comprehensive knowledge of philosophy and rhetoric, *Akbarī*, i, 324. He was a man of overbearing and brutal disposition, who delighted in cruelty for its own sake. For his treatment of Burj 'Alī, a messenger from the Khān-i-Zamān, see vol. ii, text, p. 23; for his treatment of Bairam Khān, his patron, *ibid.* p. 27, for his punishment, *ibid.* pp. 27-29; and for his revenge, *ibid.* p. 39. His brutality in Mālwa is described, *ibid.* pp. 47, 48.

¹ As he was trying to swim the river after his defeat by Bāz Bahādur in 1562. See vol. ii, text, pp. 50, 51.

² See vol. ii, text, p. 187, and *Āin-i-Akbarī*, i, 541.

³ *Vide supra*, p. 213, n. 1.

⁴ See *Āin-i-Akbarī*, i, 434.

⁵ According to the *Tabaqāt* he was a good mathematician and astrono-

This concludes the brief account of those *Shaikhs* and learned men of the age whom, for the most part, I have had an opportunity of meeting and waiting upon, and by whose illuminating regard I have been honoured; as for those of them whom I have not seen, be it as God will! Of all those of whom my pen has given an account, but very few remain here and there, like moles on the face of the age, in these days in which there is such a dearth of men worthy to be so called. Those who remain avoid and flee from the world and have been completely forgotten by those of feeble and defective nature, the vulgar, that is to say, who are no better than cattle. These learned men, counting as a
 158 loan the few moments of life which are left to them, await the arrival of the swift-footed messenger of death, and, having fully realized the dignity of old age, now hearken with the ears of the soul for the cry "Prepare to set out!" expectantly waiting to answer obediently to the shout.

Quatrain.

In the history of the world the lives of all, both small and great,
 Are written, and accounts of brave men and heroes,
 Read, and on each page of it you will see "In such a year
 Died such one, the son of such a one, the son of such a one."

And other *Shaikhs* and learned men are and were scattered throughout all parts of India, throughout its length and breadth, in such numbers that the reckoning of them is left to the knowledge of the Knower of Secrets. Likewise the number of those who are famed and known for the natural wickedness of their dispositions and innate baseness, for their hypocrisy, villainess, worthlessness, crooked dealings and injustice is beyond computation, and there is no need for me to soil my pen by recording anything concerning this handful of rubbish, these base fellows, for I have a great task before me and but little hope of long life, and my condition resembles that of the ice merchant of Nishāpur who was selling ice in the summer, and when the sun waxed hot cried out, "O, ye Muslims! Have pity upon him whose stock-in-trade is melting away on his hands!"

Couplet.

"Our life is as ice in the heat of summer,
But little of it remains and its owner is still deceived."

And my recording the dates of the deaths of the men of whom I write resembles the case of that tailor who in a certain city had his shop by the gate of the graveyard. and hung an earthen pot from a nail in his door, his only care being to drop a stone in the pot for every funeral which came from the city. Every month 159 he used to count the stones, saying. "They have carried away so many to burial." Then he would empty the pot and hang it again on the nail, dropping stones into it as before till another month had passed. It so happened that the master tailor died and a man who had not heard of his death came to demand his services. He found the door of his shop shut and asked a neighbour whither the tailor had gone. The neighbour replied, "He too has gone into the pot."

Couplet.

Regard well what happens to others.
For when it has passed by them it will be your lot also.
God be gracious! We have fallen into the mouth of a
dragon where we cannot even struggle or move, and
whence we cannot obtain freedom.
Devour thine own blood like the rosebud; mourn and open
not thy lips,
For the rosebud of this garden, the world, has no hope of
blossoming.
It points out to thee that some form, lofty as the cypress,
has crumbled away to dust
On every spot which is shaded by the box-tree.
Since some rose from the pleasure is every moment borne
away on the wind
The solitary lily wears ever the blue raiment of mourning.

I would here request my respected and critical readers and acute appraisers not to be unduly carping and censorious as regards the lack of arrangement in this work, for the famous

names of the members of the two classes which I have mentioned, who have been specially chosen out from among the people for honour, are mentioned in these few pages at haphazard like scattered pearls, and without regard to precedence or place. I would deprecate criticism on this score inasmuch as these historical selections have been written, as it were, by a broken-winged pen in a hasty flight, and I have had no leisure to arrange my composition in a commonplace book. My case much resembles that of the saddler who was constantly losing
 160 his needle and said, "If my time were not mostly wasted in looking for my needle I should be able to get through a good deal of work in the day, notwithstanding that the beggars as one man gather round me like the thong of a whip." This is a well-known saying. Although some of those whom I have mentioned may not perhaps be altogether as I would have them, for many a sincerely pious man wears the appearance of an atheist, yet if there be even one of them who is acceptable to the Lord, that one person will be sufficient for my salvation, to make intercession for me and to gain honour for me. Although all of them in general are entitled to be considered as, in some sort, saints, for "God is near to them who believe," and are thus many degrees better than I, yet some of them have a special and manifest claim, which I fully admit, to be regarded as saints. It is for this reason that I have not included among these biographies those of the irreligious and lewd, taking as my rule of conduct the saying of the sage of Bustām, which he spoke to one of his disciples by way of advice, saying, "If in these present times you see anybody who has faith in the sayings of the *Shaikhs* request his prayers both for me and for yourself, for the prayers of such a one will most certainly be answered."

I know no way and I can find no help for myself,
 Except the love of those whose faith is firm.

It so happened that when I reckoned up the number of those of this honoured class whom I have mentioned, most of whom are truly men of God, and generous and enlightened souls, I found that it came to a hundred and eleven, the number which is given

by the word *qutb* and also by the word *alf* ("one thousand"), which latter word was the date of the year¹ in which I wrote this treatise which has given me so much pleasure.

Now that my heart is disgusted with those depraved wretches who have not scrupled unblushingly to cavil at and openly to revile the faith of Islām, convicting themselves of infidelity and shamelessness, and who are the cause of all the ruin which has 161 fallen upon both the state and the people of Islām, and are known as the strife of the latter days, I will proceed to an account of the physicians (of the court) although some of these, too, may be classed in the same category as the infidels just mentioned.

¹ A.H. 1000 (A.D. 1591-92). The whole work was completed in A.H. 1004 (A.D. 1595).

CHAPTER III.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE PHYSICIANS OF THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR AKBAR.

Some of the physicians in this reign were so learned in the theory and skilled in the practice of medicine that they performed miracles like those of Mūsā,¹ and brought to mind the wonder-working breath of the Lord 'Isā,² while others, for the reason that the healing art is a noble subject of study, but a mean pursuit in its practical application, although they busied themselves in the study of medicine, sought political employment, according to their several degrees.

I. HAKÍMU-L-MULK OF GILĀN.³

His name was Shamsu-d-din, and in medicine and the healing art he was the Galen of the age, and was endowed with the healing breath of the Messiah.⁴ In other branches of traditional learning also he was distinguished far above all his fellows. I myself had no dealings with him, for when I first entered the imperial service and presented my preface to the *Nāma-yi-*

¹ Lit. "Had the white hand of Mūsā." The expression refers to the miracle related in the *Qur'ān*, Chap. xxvii, 12. "Moreover put thy hand into thy bosom, it shall come forth white, without hurt: this shall be one among the nine signs unto Pharaoh and his people, for they are a wicked people." The account in the *Qur'ān* is taken from the Book of Exodus iv. 6. The expression "the white hand of Moses" is frequently used of a miracle, or of any extraordinary power in a man.

² 'Isā is the name which Musalmāns give to our Lord, instead of Yasū', which is the correct version of His Name in Arabic. It is their belief that it was the miraculous property of His breath that restored the dead to life and healed the sick.

³ According to the *Akbarnāma* he was one of those who assisted in the capture of the mad Kh'āja Mu'azzam, Akbar's maternal uncle. See vol. ii, text 71.

⁴ See note 2, above.

Kh̄irai-qaz ¹ to the emperor, the *hakim* served me very ill, replying, when asked by the emperor what he thought of my writing, "His style is polished, but his book is ill to read." Notwithstanding this the *hakim* was, to do him justice, a sincere well-wisher and a practical helper of God's servants, firm and steadfast in the faith, and devoted to the interests of his friends. He was constantly engaged in teaching students, to whom, indeed, he was not only a tutor, but also a generous patron. So devoted was he to them that he never on any occasion willingly took his food apart from them, and on this account he was an infrequent guest at the houses of others. He was seated one day in the assembly of *Shaykh Salīm-i-Cishtī*, discoursing on theology and the dogmas and praising physicians and magnifying and extolling the importance and glory of the science of medicine, and the greatness of *Shaykh Abū 'Alī Sina*.² This occurred at 162 the time when the *Ulama* and the physicians were at feud, and were daily wrangling, disputing, and quarrelling regarding the dignity of their respective orders. As I was unacquainted with these matters and had only recently come from the country and was ignorant of the real grounds of the controversy, I quoted the following verses of *Shaykh Shuhābu-d-dīn-i-Sahrawardī* ³ (may God sanctify his soul').

Verse.

"How long did I say to this people, "Ye are superfluous?
One cure, the grave, is to be found in books of medicine."
But when they sought satisfaction in threatening us,
We rested in God for the sufficiency of our recompense.
And they died in the faith of Aristotle.
While we live in the faith of God's chosen prophet."

And I also quoted, in support of the position which I had

¹ See vol. i, trans. Ranking, 95, and note 6.

² Called in Europe, Avicenna.

³ A renowned saint descended from Abū Bakr, the first *Khalīfah*. He was the author of the *As-Sūfīyah* and died at Baghdat in A.H. 632 (A.D. 1234-35).

taken up, those verses of the inspired lord Jāmi¹ (may his tomb be sanctified!) which he has written in his *Tuhfatu-l-Ahrār*.

Couplet.

"Seek not enlightenment of the heart from the bosom of
Sinā,²

Seek not for light from the eyes of the blind."

This enraged the *hakīm*, and the *Shaiikh* said: "The fire of strife was already blazing between these people. Now you have come and have blown it to a still fiercer blaze."

When the arena of strife was closed to the *‘ulamā* and *shaiikhs* this physician disputed with the enemies of the faith whenever he could find an opportunity of doing so, as is briefly related in the account of that party.³ At length *Hakīm*-i-Mulk was no longer able to continue the unequal struggle and applied for leave to go to Makkah the glorious, and in the year H. 988 or 989 (A.D. 1580 or 1581)⁴ he departed on the pilgrimage, and died in the land of the pilgrimage. Thanks be to God for his efforts.

II. HAKĪM SAIFU-L-MULŪK OF DAMĀWAND.⁵

To great learning and knowledge of medicine he united a taste
163 for writing vilely scurrilous and satirical verse. His *nom-de-plume* was *Shujā‘i*.⁶ As ill-luck would have it, whenever this physician undertook the cure of a sick man, the unfortunate patient surrendered his life to the messenger of death, for which

¹ Maulānā ‘Abdu-r-Rahmān-i-Jāmi, the famous poet. ² Avicenna.

³ See vol. ii, text, 263, 275. The word در ('in') has been carelessly omitted from the text, though it is in both MSS.

⁴ According to vol. ii, text, p. 275, *Hakīm*-i-Mulk was first ordered to go to Makkah in A.D. 1579 owing to his quarrels with Abū-l-Faḍl, whom he called فضله (*faḍlah*), 'redundancy,' 'orts' or 'excrement,' and actually departed (p. 285) in that year, being considered one of the unworthy in faith and religion! He received, however, a sum of five lakhs of rupees, to be distributed in alms at Makkah.

⁵ A town under the mountain of the same name, to the east of Tihirān. In the *Ain-i-Akbari* (i, 543) he is called Saifu-l-Mulk *Lung* ('the lame').

⁶ Vide *infra*, Ch. IV, No. LXVIII.

reason the wits gave him the nickname of *Saifu-l-Ḥukamā*.¹ He attended one of the grandsons of the venerable *Shaiḫ* Jāmī, Mūḥammad-i-Khabūshānī² by name, better known as *Maḥdūm-zāda*,³ and helped him on his journey to the next world. The words "Saifu-l-Ḥukamā killed him"⁴ were found to give the date of his death. These few lines which were written on the physician Jalāl may well be applied to Saifu-l-Mulūk.

Verses.

"Regarding the physician Jalāl the Angel of Death,
Last night made his complaint to God, saying,
'Thy slave is helpless before the physician,
Where I kill one he kills a hundred.
Either depose him I pray Thee, from the position which
he holds,
Or assign to me some other employment.'"⁵

He was held in much honour in India for some years during the time of Bairam Khān, and afterwards, but according to his own statement he received neither patronage nor honour, and returned to his country disappointed. Thence he wrote and despatched a satirical poem, which for gracefulness and the laughable nature of its subject has been equalled by the poems of few writers of this age. To whet the taste of my readers I transcribe here a few couplets from that poem, which recall themselves spontaneously to my memory.

"A pious calf, untimely born, hailing from Barbary,
Whom I have sometimes called a cat, sometimes the mouse
of the saints.
A Brahman without caste-mark or thread, that is to say an
Indian *Shaiḫ*.

¹ *Saifu-l-Mulūk* means 'sword of kings,' *Saifu-l-Ḥukamā*, 'sword of physicians.'

² Khabūshān is near Mashhad.

³ 'Son of the master.'

⁴ *هکما کشت* giving the date A.H. 1970 (A.D. 1562—63).

⁵ The Urdū poet Sandā has some verses much resembling these in a satire on a physician named *Ghaṇṣ*.

I should be no Musalman were I to call such a one a Musalman.

Hold, Shafī'ū-d-dīn, Muḥammad, cease your eternal mumbling of words,

That mumbling which I have likened to the chewing of a cud by a man.

Faridūn,¹ in my anger against you, your shameless face

164 Have I likened to an anvil, not for its smoothness, but for its hardness."

Mir Faridūn replied with the following couplet:—

"Philosopher's tears are the boast of the ass of the angel of Death,

Of him whom I have called the doorkeeper of the house of misfortune."

When Mir Mu'izzu-l-Mulk² left the army and entered upon a life of religious retirement at Dihli Saifn-l-Mulūk wrote of him:

"The king of the ascetics, Mu'izzu-l-Mulk, is displeased with me.

Why, when have I, his slave, ever said that he repented of his ascetic life?"

III. ḤAKĪM ZANBĪL.³

He was distinguished for his learning, and had a place among those who were admitted to the emperor's company.

¹ Possibly Mīrzā Faridūn, son of Muhammad Qalī Khān Barlās. See *Āin-i-Akbarī*, i, 478. The text and both MSS. have, however, 'Mīr.'

² For an account of Mu'izzu-l-Mulk, a Mūsawī Sayyid of Mashhad, and a zealous Shī'ah, on which account Badāonī hated him, see *Āin-i-Akbarī*, i, 381. His 'retirement' probably took place in 1565, when he fell into disgrace and was debarred, for a time, from appearing at court owing to his conduct in the expedition against the Khān-i-Zamān and Bahādur Khān. See vol. ii, text, p. 83. Mu'izzu-l-Mulk was ultimately drowned by Akbar's order, as a punishment for rebelling. This happened in 1579. See vol. ii, text, pp. 276, 277.

³ See *Āin-i-Akbarī*, i, 442, 542. In the latter passage he is called 'Ḥakīm

IV. ḤAKĪM 'AINU-L-MULK OF SHIRĀZ.¹

He bore the *nom-de-plume* of Davā'i,² and held a very high rank among the learned, besides being of a most noble disposition. He died in the city of Hāndiā, as has been related.³ The following verses were written by him when I was escorting him to the gate of the garden of the late Kh'āja Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad in the suburbs of Lāhōr. He wrote them and gave them to me as a keepsake as he bade me farewell, just before he set out⁴ from Lāhōr for the Dakan, on his mission to Rāja 'Alī Khān of Burhānpūr.¹ That was the last time I saw him.

Verses.

"So full am I of love that the world will not contain me,
All places are full of my love, and no place will contain
me.

If I care for naught but love it is no wonder,

Regard it rather as an example of my chastity, for wine
does not content me.

Zanbil *Be*! He was a commander of nine hundred Zanbil means 'a basket.' In the text he is called 'Ḥakīm Zinnl Shirāzi.' I have corrected the meaningless name and have omitted 'Shirāzi' which occurs in neither MS., and is an error, for Zanbil was the brother of Mirzā Muḥammad Ṭabīb, of Sabzavār.

¹ He was a learned man and a clever writer. He traced his origin, on his mother's side, to the renowned logician, Muḥaqqiq-i-Davrānī. In 1564 he was sent as an envoy to Cingiz Khān of Gajarāt. In 1575 he was sent as an ambassador to 'Alī 'Adil Shāh I of Bijāpūr and returned to court in 1577, when he was made *faujdar* of Sambhal. In 1581 he defeated 'Arab Bahādur and other rebels of Bengal and was then made *Ṣadr* of Bengal. In 1585 he was made *dirān* of Agra. He was then sent to the Dakan and received Hāndiā in *jāgīr*. 'Aziz Kūka cancelled his *jāgīr* and he returned to court without leave. He was at first refused an audience but was subsequently reinstated and returned to the Dakan. See *Ain-i-Akbari*, i, 480, and Badāoni, vol. ii, text, *passim*.

² *Vide infra*, Ch. IV, No. XLIX.

³ On Sep. 2, 1595. See vol. ii, text, 403.

⁴ In 1593 or 1594.

⁵ Eleventh king of Khāndesh, of the Fārūqī dynasty, reigned 1576—1596. See *Historic Landmarks of the Deccan*, by Major T. W. Haig, p. 235 *et passim*.

Why do you ask me of that which I myself do not know.
Verily I am the mystery of unity, though even that
mystery cannot contain me."

Other verses by 'Ainu-l-Mulk.

"No desert place has been seen without a sign of some
habitation.

But against the incurable pain of love no plans avail.

I became the prey of one fair as a gazelle, but when I
looked intently

(I saw) that there was nothing in the game-straps but a
pure soul."

V. ḤAKIM MASIHU-L-MULK, OF SHIRAZ.¹

He had been brought up by the physician Najmu-d-din 'Abdu-
'llāh, the son of Sharafu-d-din Ḥasan. He had the disposition
of a religious and also sound faith. He was exceedingly well
skilled in medicine. He came to Hindūstān from the Dakan
and was sent with Sultān Murād² to Gujarāt and the Dakan.
In Mālwa death cut short the (silver) cord of his hope.

VI. ḤAKIM-I-MISHRI.³

He was well skilled both in the theory and the practice of
medicine and learned in all traditional learning. He had some
acquaintance with the profane sciences, such as exorcism, etymo-
logy, and the formation of broken plurals. He is a cheerful soul
and a good companion, whose very approach is a blessing. He
put forth his best efforts in treating Shaikh Faizi in his last
illness, but all to no avail! What indeed could he do in the face
of the irresistible decree of fate, before which all are helpless and
dumb. If medicine could prolong the life physicians should
never die.

¹ See *Āin-i-Akbari*, i, 543.

² The second of Akbar's sons who survived childhood. He was appointed
governor of Gujarāt in 1593.

³ He was a commander of four hundred. See *Āin-i-Akbari*, i, 491.

The *hakim* sometimes wrote droll verses in Persian, an example of which is the following couplet which he wrote on *Kh'āja* 166 *Shamsu-d-din* of *Khawāf*,¹ the *Dirān*.

Couplet.

“What overbearing conduct is this of *Kh'āja Shamsu-d-din's* ?

He intrudes, God forbid it,² upon the domain of medicine !”

One day, on seeing an oleander, which in Arabic is called *diflā*, in bloom, he uttered the following hemistich :—

“The locks leap up like flame from the head of the *diflā*.”

When the emperor built a dais in the courtyard of the *masjid* at *Lāhōr* and issued an order to the effect that anybody who wished to do so might recite their prayers there in his presence, *Hakim-i-Miṣrī* wrote the following verses :—

“Our king has founded a *masjid*
O ye faithful, good fortune may it bring !
It is good policy also in this *masjid*
To recite and reckon up our prayers.”

He was very simple-minded and unselfish, and for this reason acquired but little wealth. He produced, however, some practical treatises on medicine. He died in *Burhānpūr* in *Khāndēsh* and was buried in the neighbourhood of that city.³

¹ See *Ain-i-Akbari*, i, 445.

² I follow here the reading of the MSS. viz :—*عاش*, which I take to be contraction of *عاشا الله* ('God forbid'). The text has *عاش* of which I cannot make sense in this connection. The true reading may be *عاش* ('his foot'), in which case the translation of the hemistich would be, 'His intruding foot encroaches upon the domain of medicine.'

³ This history was completed in A.H. 1004 (A.D. 1596) so that according to *Badāoni* *Hakim Miṣrī* died before that date, but *Abū-l-Faṣl* in the *Akbar-nāma* mentions his death in A.H. 1009 (A.D. 1600-01) and says that he saw his friend on his death-bed. There is no means of reconciling this discrepancy or of deciding the question. The *Tabaqāt* praises him for his practical knowledge of medicine and his good disposition, but his death is not mentioned there.

VII. HAKĪM 'ALĪ.¹

He is sister's son to Ḥakīm-n-Mulk and was the pupil of his uncle and of Shāh Fathu-'llāh of Shīrāz, in medicine, and studied traditional learning under Shaiikh 'Abdu-n-Nabi. Notwithstanding his great learning in the holy law and in *Sunni* theology, his malignancy in adhering to the *Zaidī*² sect and his obstinacy in the *Shī'ah* heresy, in which matters he resembles the other physicians of the age, are as great as ever they were.³ His excellence in acquired knowledge, and especially in the science of medicine, is extreme, and he is passionately devoted to the practice of the healing art, but as he is but a youth, self-opinion-
 167 ated and of limited experience, it sometimes happens that a patient, after taking one of his draughts speedily has a taste of the draught of extinction, and notwithstanding the fact that he was the pupil of Shāh Fathu-'llāh of Shīrāz, he ordered him, when he was in an ardent fever, a diet of thick pottage,⁴ thereby handing him over to death, the executioner.

“To drink with him is death to the senses.”

¹ He came poor and destitute from Gilān to India, but became in course of time a personal attendant on Akbar. In A.H. 988 (A.D. 1580) he was sent as ambassador to 'Alī 'Adil Shāh I of Bijāpūr and was well received, but before he could be sent back with presents for his master 'Alī 'Adil Shāh was slain by a eunuch. In 1593 Ḥakīm 'Alī constructed a wonderful reservoir (*ḥawẓ*) at Agra, and in the following year was a commander of 700 and had the title of Jālīnūs-u-z-Zamān ('the Galen of the Age'). He treated Akbar immediately before his death. Akbar had dysentery, or acute diarrhœa, which 'Alī checked by a powerful astringent. Costive fever and strangury ensued, and 'Alī then administered an aperient, which brought back the diarrhœa, of which Akbar died. In 1609 Jahāngīr visited 'Alī's reservoir and made him a commander of two thousand. 'Alī died on April 10 of that year.

² The followers of Zaid bin 'Alī, who caused a dissension among the *Shī'ahs* by refusing to curse the first two *Ḥalīfahs*.

³ Jahāngīr (*Tūẓuk*, p. 74) says of Ḥakīm 'Alī that he was without equal as a physician, was an excellent Arabic scholar, and had written a commentary on the *Qānūn*, but that he had more application than brains, that his looks were better than his morals, and his behaviour better than his heart, for that he was, on the whole, a bad and unprincipled man.

⁴ Badāonī has, perhaps, let his prejudice against the *Shī'ah* ḥakīm run

VIII. HAKIM ABŪ-I-FATH OF GILĀN.¹

He obtained favour in the emperor's service to such a degree that he was admitted to his intimate companionship and acquired such influence over him as to render himself an object of envy to all who concerned themselves in the affairs of state. He was highly distinguished for his acumen and quickness of apprehension, and for his proficiency in all worldly accomplishments, prose and poetry. He was no less a byword for his infidelity and all other reprehensible qualities.² I heard, when the *hakim* first arrived at Court, that he used to say, "The only things worth considering are *Khawar* and these twelve couplets." He always spoke of Anwar as "Anwarak the flatterer," and likened him to Mir Bādāyan, who was the buffoon of his time. Of

away with him here. According to another account Fathu'llah, who thought that he understood medicine better than Hakim 'Alī did, ate the pottage against his doctor's advice and presently died.

¹ Mas'ud-din Abū-i-Fath, son of Maulana Abū-i-Razzaq, *Ẓir* of Gilān, and brother of Hakim Humam and Hakim Nur-d-din. He and his brothers arrived in India in 1576 (vol. ii. text, 211), and were well received. Four years later Abū-i-Fath was made *Ẓir* and *Amir* of Bengal. He was captured by the rebels, but escaped and returned to court. In 1586 Abū-i-Fath was sent to help Raja Bir Bar against the Yusufzais in Sawād and Bajaur, but was reprimanded on his return as the disastrous result of the campaign was rightly attributed to him and the Raja's insubordination against Zain Khan Kaka. In 1588-89 he went with Akbar to Kashmir and thence to Zabulistan, but on the march he fell sick and died, and was buried at Hassan Abdal.

² See vol. ii. text, p. 211. Badaoni says, "The eldest brother (Hakim Abū-i-Fath) by means of his winning address soon obtained great influence with the emperor, and flattered him openly, complying with him in all questions of religion and the faith, and even going in advance of him, so that he was soon admitted as an intimate companion of his majesty. Soon after there came to court from Persia Mulla Muhammad-i-Yazdi, who was nicknamed Yazdi, and joined them, and poured unlimited abuse on the companions of the prophet, relating strange stories of them, and tried hard to make the emperor a *Shrah*. He was soon left behind by the bastard Bir Bar, *Shaykh* Abū-i-Fazl, and Hakim Abū-i-Fath, who turned the emperor entirely aside from the faith, and led him to reject inspiration, prophecy, the miracles of the prophets and the saints, and the whole law."

Khāqānī he used to say, "If he were now living he would be much improved, for whenever he came to my house I would box his ears for him, to arouse him from his sleepiness, and when he went hence to Shāikh Abū-l-Faḡl's house, he also would box his ears, and between us we should improve his poetry.

IX. ḤAKĪM ḤASAN OF GILĀN.¹

He was noted for his natural quickness of wit, but he had not learning in proportion, though he possessed excellent qualities and praiseworthy attributes.

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X. ḤAKĪM HUMĀM.²

He was the younger brother of Ḥakīm Abū-l-Faḡh, and his disposition was better than his brother's. Although it was not naturally good, yet it cannot be said to have been naturally evil. Ḥakīm Ḥasan, Shāikh Faḡzī, Kamālā the *Ṣadr*, and Ḥakīm Humām³ all died one after the other within the space of a month, and all the wealth which they had amassed disappeared in a moment, vanishing as completely as though it had been sunk in the Red Sea and the Arabian Sea, and to them nothing remained but the wind of vain regrets. But this indeed is and has been the common fate of all courtiers, both dead and living, namely, that, in spite of the treasures of Qārūn⁴ and Shaddād⁵

¹ In the Lakhnau edition of the *Zubagāt* he is wrongly called 'Ḥakīm Husain of Gilān,' and is described as a man of praiseworthy morals.

² He was the younger brother of Ḥakīm Abū-l-Faḡh and came to India with him. His real name was Humāyūn, but when he came to court he discreetly called himself Humāyūn-Qulī ('slave of Humāyūn'). Akbar gave him the name of Humām, which means 'hero' or 'magnanimous prince.' (Mr. Blochmann in the *Āin-i-Akbarī*, i, 474, note 2, has apparently mistaken it for *Ḥammām* 'a bath' or *Nammām* 'a slanderer'). He held the office of Bakāwal Beg and, though only a commander of 600, was a personal friend of Akbar and had great influence at court. In the 31st year he was sent with *Ṣadr-i-Jahān* (q. v.) as an envoy to Tūrān, and returned to India about a month after his brother's death. He died November 9, 1595.

³ See vol. ii, text, pp. 205, 206.

⁴ The Korah of the Scriptures.

⁵ Shaddād the son of 'Ad, King of Yaman. See *Qur'ān* lxxxix, 5, and vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 261 and note 6.

by God, the God of whose Godhead there is no doubt, that the *hakīm's* face appeared to others, as well as to me, exactly like the head of a hog, and the words "the hellish hog" ¹ were found to give the date of his death. *Shaiikh Faizī* found another chronogram in the words, "on the twenty-fifth of the month of *Safar*." ² I found two chronograms for the event in the following couplet slightly altered from the *Ḥadiqah*, ³ which is applicable equally to the slayer and the slain.

"And we adhered to the certain presumptions."

Another person found a chronogram in the words, "Hail, dagger of *Fūlād*!" ⁴

(*Shi'ah*) faith, and other annoyances which *Fūlād* had experienced at his hands.' This occurred in January, 1588. *Aḥmad's* abuse of the orthodox *Khalifahs* is given as the cause of *Fūlād's* act, but from the earlier passage it is clear that the murderer had some other motive. Moreover, when *Fūlād* was asked by *Hakīm Abū-l-Fath*, at the instance of *Akbar*, whether it was religious zeal which had prompted the deed he replied, 'Had it been only religious zeal I should have attacked a greater than *Aḥmad*.' Although the ladies of the *ḥaram*, who admired *Fūlād's* courage, interceded for him, he was executed by being bound to the foot of an elephant. *Aḥmad* lingered for three or four days and then 'went to his own place.' *Badāonī* says that he saw 'the dog' in his death agony, and noticed the change in his face. This, which is called *maskh*, is said by *Sunnīs* to happen frequently to *Shi'ahs*, because they revile the companions of the prophet. Compare the account of *Faizī's* death-bed, *infra*, Ch. IV, No. CVII. After *Aḥmad's* burial *Faizī* and *Abū-l-Faḥl* had a guard set over his tomb, but when the court left *Lāhor* for *Kashmir* 'the people of *Lāhor* one night exhumed his impure corpse and burnt it.'

¹ دريخت و پنچ مہ صفر giving the date 996 (A.D. 1588).

² دريخت و پنچ مہ صفر. There is something wrong with this chronogram. It gives the date 1153.

³ Probably the *Ḥadiqatu-l-Ḥaḥiqat wa Shar'atu-l-Tarīqah*, otherwise known as the *Fakhrināma* by *Sann'i*. See vol. i, trans. Ranking, 35 note 1, 57 note 1. I cannot, however, find a chronogram in the couplet. One hemistich gives 1049, and the other 1132.

⁴ Or 'Hail, dagger of steel!' (زہی خنجر فولاد) *Fūlād* means 'steel.' The chronogram gives the correct date, 996 (A.D. 1588).

XII. HAKIM LUṬFU-'LLĀH, OF GILĀN.¹

He was well known as a clever practitioner, and his learning was very great.

XIII. HAKIM MUẒAFFAR, OF ARDASTĀN.²

When a young man he was physician to Shāh Tahmāsb.³ He came to India and was here highly regarded. He is a young man of great piety, and lives cleanly. When he attends the sick his very footstep seems to bring them good luck. Although he has not much learning, his practical experience is very great.

XIV. HAKIM FATHU-'LLĀH, OF GILĀN.⁴

He has read very many works on medicine, and his knowledge of astronomy also is great. He has written a Persian commentary on the *Qānūn*. He has now gone to Kābul to treat Qilij Khān.

XV. SHAIKH BINĀ.⁵

He is the son of Shaiikh Ḥasan, the quack doctor of Sirhind. His skill in surgery is great, and in the treatment of elephants he 170

¹ Brother of Hakim Abū-l-Fath and Hakim Hamām. He was a commander of two hundred. See *Āin-i-Akbari*, i, 518.

² Ardastān is a town lying between Kāshān and Yazd. In the *Ṭabaqāt* this physician is called Hakim Jalālu-d-dīn Muẓaffar. Under Akbar he was a commander of two hundred, but Jahāngir in 1606 gave him the rank of a commander of 3,000, with 1,000 horse (*T̄ẓuk*, 37). Jahāngir heard of his death on Sep. 14, 1607. In the *T̄ẓuk* (p. 59), where he calls him Jalālu-d-dīn Muẓaffar Ardastānī, he says that his practice was greater than his learning. He praises him very highly.

³ Who, according to Jahāngir, wrote a verse on Muẓaffar: 'He is a pleasing physician, come, let us all fall sick.'

⁴ In the first year of Jahāngir's reign Fathu-'llāh had the rank of commander of 1,000, with 300 horse (*T̄ẓuk*, p. 34). According to the *Pādshāhnāma*, i, b, 350, he returned to his native country, where he died. There is no authority for Blochmann's statement (*Jir.* i, 542) that he committed suicide. His grandson, of the same name, was a physician at the court of Shāhjahān.

⁵ See *Āin-i-Akbari*, i, 543. Shaiikh Binā had a son, Shaiikh Ḥasr, or Hasr, who, under Jahāngir, attained great honours. Hasr was a physician at the court of Jahāngir.

is one of the wonders of the age. Latterly, he has become the prey of mischievous hallucinations.

There are also among the physicians others, obscure Musalmans¹ and accursed Hindūs,² from writing of whom my heart revolts.

the title of Muqarrab Khān from Akbar, or from Jahāngīr in Akbar's reign (*Tāzūk*, p. 12). He rose to be a commander of 5,000, and was successively governor of Gujarāt, Bihār, and Āgra. He was pensioned off at the beginning of Shāhjahān's reign, and died at the age of ninety. In the 41st year of Akbar's reign Shaiikh Binā and his son succeeded in curing a bad wound which Akbar had received from a buck at a deer-fight.

¹ In the *Āin-i-Akbarī*, i, 542—544, eleven Muḥammadan physicians besides those mentioned by Badāionī are mentioned. Shaiikh Aḥmad, of Thatha, is not there mentioned. The *Ṭabaqāt* mentions all those described here and five others.

² In the *Āin-i-Akbarī* (i, 544) four Hindū physicians are mentioned, and in the *Ṭabaqāt* six.



CHAPTER IV.

An Account of the Poets of the Reign of the Emperor Akbar.

A full account of the poets of the reign of the Emperor Akbar is given in the *Nafā'isu-l-Ma'āṣir*, well known as the *Taẓkirāh* of Mir 'Alā'u-d-daulah,¹ which is the source from which the materials for this brief account are extracted. Some of these poets have composed *dīvāns*. I have written of those with whom I was acquainted, whom I have even seen, whether near or from afar, or who have acquired fame.

I. GHAZĀLĪ OF MAḤRĀD.²

When his life was attempted in 'Irāq on account of his infidelity and intemperance, he fled thence to the Dakan, and afterwards came to Hindūstān. The Khān-i-Zamān sent him one thousand rupees for his expenses, and wrote from Jaunpūr a witty epigram, which contained an enigma in the poet's name.

“O Ghazālī, I adjure thee by the claims of the lord of Najaf³
That thou come to the slaves of the peerless one!⁴
Since thou art without honour in that country⁵
Take thy head,⁶ and come out of it.”

¹ Mir 'Alā'u-d-daulah was the brother of Mir 'Abdu-l-Latīf of Qazvin, see above, c. II, No. XX. His *taẓkirah*, here referred to, I have never seen, and do not know where a copy of it is to be found. Mir 'Alā'u-d-daulah wrote under the poetical name of Kāmī, see No. CXIV.

² The *Ātashkada-yi-Āzārī* says that he wrote sixteen books, and that he fled from Persia during the reign of Shāh Tahmāsp. The *Mir'ātu-l-'Ālam* mentions two books written by him, the *Asrār-i-Makṭūm*, and the *Rashhātū-i-Hayāt*, to which the *Haft Iqlīm* adds a third, the *Mir'ātū-l-Kā'ināt*.

³ 'Alī, Muḥammad's cousin and son-in-law, the fourth Khalīfah. Ghazālī was a Shī'ah, hence the force of the appeal.

⁴ I believe that this refers to Akbar, but it may refer to God. It is not unlikely that the ambiguity is intentional.

⁵ The Dakan.

⁶ I have translated this phrase literally, as it contains the enigma. It

He was for some time with the *Khān-i-Zamān* and afterwards¹ entered the emperor's service and received the title of *Maliku-sh-Shu'arā*.² He compiled several *divāns* and a book of *maṣnūvīs*. It is said that he has written no fewer than forty or fifty thousand couplets.³ Although his compositions do not rank very high, yet his poems, as regards both quality and quantity, are superior to those of any of his contemporaries. He had great facility of expression in the language of the mystics. He died very suddenly in Aḥmadābād on Friday, Rajab 27, A.H. 980 (Dec. 3, A.D. 1572),⁴ and his majesty ordered that he should be buried in Sarkhej,⁵ the resting-place of many of the great saints and famous kings of old. Qāsim Arsalān⁶ wrote this chronogram for the date of his death, taking it down from the dictation of Qāsim Kāhī.⁷

“Last night *Ghazālī*, that accursed dog,

Went drunk and defiled to hell.

Kahī wrote the date of his death

‘A base infidel departed from this world.’”⁸

means ‘take your own way,’ just as we say, of a horse, ‘give him his head. The ‘head’ or first letter of *Ghazālī* is *غ*, which stands for 1000. Thus the expression also means here, ‘Take a thousand (rupees).’

¹ According to the *Ṭabaqāt Ghazālī* remained in the service of the *Khān-i-Zamān* until the latter was killed (June, 1567), and then entered the emperor's service.

² ‘King of poets,’ or, as we say, ‘poet laureate.’ *Faiṣī* was his successor in the title.

³ According to the *Ṭabaqāt* nearly 100,000. The *Mir'ātu-l-Ālum* agrees with Badoānī. The *Ātaṣḥkada-yi-Āḡar* estimates his couplets at 40,000, and the *Haft Iqlīm* estimates them at 70,000.

⁴ *Faiṣī* has a very neat chronogram, *مئة نصد و هشتاد* (‘the year 980’), the numerical values of the letters of which give the sum 980.

⁵ See *Āin-i-Akbarī*, ii, 241. Sulṭān Aḥmad (1411—1442), after whom Aḥmadābād is named, and many other princes are buried here. A variant is ‘Sarkhoc.’

⁶ *Vide infra*, No. 1 V.

⁷ See the next notice.

⁸ *ملحد وني رفت از عالم*, giving the date 980.

Another chronogram—

“*Ghazālī* was a treasure-house of hidden meaning.

His resting-place is the pure earth of Sarkhej.

The date of his death, with the difference of one year only,
is given by the words, ‘*Aḥmadābād* and the dust of
Sarkhej.’”¹

The following is the opening couplet of an ode which I have not been able to discover in any *dirān* written by him:—

“We heard a noise and opened our eyes from the sleep of
nothingness.

We saw that the night of strife had not passed away, and fell
asleep again”²

Couplets by Ghazālī.

“If in the *Ka'bah* thy heart wanders towards any, besides
(the Lord of the *Ka'bah*).

The worship is all wickedness, and the *Ka'bāh* is to thee no
more than an idol-temple.

But if thy heart is fixed on God, even though thou dwell in
the wineshop.

Drink wine fearlessly, thine end can be nought but good.”

“We fear not death, but this is our misfortune

That we must remain disappointed of regarding the lovely
ones of this world.”

“Those who are at rest in the dust were all slain by thy
sword.

The sword of Death has had no opportunity here.”

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¹ This chronogram is entirely wrong. Both the text and the MSS. have ‘*Sarganj*’ for ‘*Sarkhej*,’ and the rhyme necessitates this reading, which, if adopted, gives the date 1021. If the correct name of the place, *Sarkhej*, be substituted we get the date 986—still six years wrong.

² A description of life.

"We are within the compass of a revolving lantern¹; a whole world remains in astonishment therein,
Man whirls madly therein like the figures on the lantern."

"The zealot's cloak is stretched over his bent form like the string on a bow,
But the debauchees fear not the arrows of his prayers."

A Quatrain.

"My mind is an ocean which contains a gem,
My tongue is a sword which has an edge,
The clarion of my pen has the sound of the last trump,
I am the bird of the angels, my words are winged."

He has introduced into one *qaṣīdah* all the numerals from one to a hundred. This is its opening couplet—

"By one word from thy two ruby lips Masīḥ² obtained three favours;
Eternal life, and graceful speech, and power to give life."

"We are wine, and round our necks is the collar of the wine-jar,
We have a power of intoxication in which the whole world is lost."

II. QĀSIM-I-KĀHĪ.³

He was Miyān Kāhī of Kābul. Although his verses are crude
173 and his ideas all stolen from others, yet they are written in a con-

¹ A lantern which revolves by the smoke of the candle within, and has on the sides of it figures of men and animals.

² The Messiah.

³ Kāhī ('straw-like') is thus described in the *Āin* (i, 566). He is known as Miyān Kāhī. He knew something of the ordinary sciences, and lived quiet and content. He rarely mixed with people in high position. On account of his generous disposition a few low men gathered around him, for which reason well-meaning people who did not know his circumstances often upbraided him. Partly from his own love of independence, partly from the indulgence of his majesty, he counted himself among the disciples, and often foretold future events. In the *Ṭabaqāt* it is said that he had many ac-

needed style, and in this respect *Kāhī* had no equal. He was well versed in astronomy, rhetoric, and the mysticism of the *Ṣūfīs*, and wrote a treatise on music. In short, he had no equal in his time in knowledge of the mysticism of the *Ṣūfīs*, the art of composing enigmas, history, elocution, and various other arts. Although he had had the advantages of associating with the *shāikh*s of former days, among them that lord of his age Maulavī Jāmi, (may his tomb be hallowed!) and others, yet all his life was spent in heresy and infidelity. But notwithstanding these ill qualities his liberality, generosity, open-handedness and bounty were extreme, and he was always surrounded by a crowd of *qalandars*, lewd fellows, and courtezans, and associated unrestrainedly with dogs. It would seem that such conduct is the invariable attribute of one bearing the title of *Maliku-sh-Shu'arā*,¹ as has been said in the verses—

“Hearken to this advice from *Saifī*,
That it may suffice thee all thy life.
On good poetry and a handsome boy,
Pin thy faith, no matter whose they be.”

I have no concern with his religion, but I reproduce the following selections from his verses:—

accomplishments and was specially distinguished in the art of music, that he lived a free and unconventional life, and attained the age of 120. *Miyān Kāl* is the name of the hills between Samarqand and Bukhārā. According to the *Ātashkade-yi-Īzārī* he was born in Turkistān and brought up in Kābul. One of his ancestors paid his respects to Timūr, accompanied the army of that conqueror, and settled at last in Turkistān. *Kāhī* was well received by Humāyūn. According to the *Haft Iqlīm Kāhī's* name was Sayyid Najm-ud-dīn Muḥammad, his *kunyah* being Abū-l-Qāsim. When fifteen years old he visited Jāmi (died 1493-94) and afterwards Hāshimī of Kirmān. He was a pugilist and a runner, and lived a free life, following no creed or doctrine. He lived long at Banūras, and afterwards at Āgra, where he died May 17, 1580. See also vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 584, notes 1 and 3, and p. 601.

¹ I have translated literally, although the passage makes it appear that *Kāhī* held the title of *Maliku-sh-Shu'arā*, which he never bore. Badāoni is running atilt at Faiṣī, who was very fond of dogs, and means to say that *Kāhī* was a regular *Maliku-sh-Shu'arā* in his conduct.

Couplets.

"Like thy shadow we are with thee, whithersoever thou goest,

It may be that in time thou wilt shew us some kindness.

O ancient of love, seek the company of one with Yūsuf's cheeks.

Small wonder were it if so thou becamest young like Zulaikḥā.

Kāhī, thou art the nightingale which adorns the pleasure of Kābul,

No crow or kite art thou that thou shouldst come to Hindūstān."

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"Grief for thine absence has reduced my body to the likeness of a spider's web,

It is for this reason that the corner of a ruin is my dwelling."

He set the two odes of which the opening couplets are given below to sweet music, so that they have become known throughout the world and are sung in all assemblies, enlivening alike the banquets of kings and the gatherings of mystics.

Opening Couplet of the First Ode.

"The bird which began to flap his wings on the forehead of Majnūn

Inflamed in his brain the fire of his grief for Lailā."

Opening Couplet of the Second Ode.

"When the mirror is filled with roses, the reflection of the loved one's face,

The parrot who looks therein becomes a nightingale."

The following is an enigma¹ on the name of God:—

¹ I have not attempted to solve either this enigma or the next. The verses run, in the original—

نیست از هستیش کسی آگاه * ابداً کان لا نهـایـه له

تازه شرح را شنافذه ام. * از محمد نبی شگفته ام

"Nobody has full knowledge of His essence,

From eternity without beginning has He been, He is limitless."

And the following is another enigma on the name of the prophet :—

"Since I journeyed along the road of the holy law,

My path has been divided from that of Muḥammad the prophet."

He was the author of a well-known *dīrān* and has also written a *maṣṇarī* which he has entitled *Gu' Afshān*, a reply¹ to the *Būstān* of Sa'dī, corresponding with it rhyme for rhyme. Its opening couplet is—

"To the world's Creator be praises from the soul,

To the soul's Creator a hundred worlds of praise."²

The following is another couplet by him—

"My cruel darling has killed thousands with her coqueties,

My spoilt darling still continues her coqueties."

"The rain of misfortune has broken on my grief-stricken body,
What misfortune is there that the heavens have not rained
on my head ?"

"No narcissus blooms in the place of my pilgrimage,

My eyes are whitened with watching for thee."

The following couplet was written by him on a Hindū youth, a *jūgī* :—

جوب¹ A poem written in imitation of another, and intended to compete with the original.

² This couplet runs as follows :—

جهان آفرین را بجان آفرین * بجان آفرین صد جهان آفرین

Sa'dī's *Būstān* begins—

نام جهان در جان آفرین * حکیم سخنان بر زبان آفرین

"Thy flame-coloured face shines above the ashes on thy body¹
like the lotus,
Or it may be that thy head-cloth has been reduced to ashes
by thy resplendent face."

175 But the idea developed in this couplet very much resembles that which is the motive of the following couplet by Mullā *Vasfī*² of Kābul:—

"It is not the burning fever of separation from thee which
has induced me to choose the dust for a bed,
Rather is it that my bed has been burnt to ashes by the
ardent fever which possesses me, sick with my longing for
thee."

When Mullā Qāsim was told that most of his poetical ideas were stolen from others, he used to reply, "I have never asked you to believe that my poems were wholly my own. If they please you not, take a pen-knife, and erase them from the copies of my *divān*." He has an excellent *qaṣīdah* on the astrolabe, which runs on into an encomium on the late emperor, Humāyūn. His copiousness of diction is well exemplified therein. When *Kh'āja Mu'azzam Khān*,³ notwithstanding his lameness, came to visit Mullā Qāsim-i-Kāhī in his sickness, the Mullā composed the following extempore ode on the event, setting it to music at the same time:—

"Thou did'st halt in affected disdain one pace from the face
of my longing,
May thy foot never pain thee more, my graceful cypress!
Howmuchsoever I recounted, in the night of separation, the
joys of thy presence,
The tale of my long-drawn-out grief was not lessened."

One day the Mullā was walking in the emperor's garden, on the far side of the Jamna, when the poet *Subhī*⁴ met him, and as

¹ Scil, the ashes of cow-dung, *بهجوت* (*bhabhūt*) with which Hindū ascetics besmear themselves.

² See below, No. CLXII.

³ The brother of Akbar's mother.

⁴ Vide *infra*, No. LXXI.

soon as he saw him said, "Sir, have you heard that a man who accepted Islām late in life¹ has died in 'Irāq?" The *Mu'īn* replied, "May you be spared!"²

When the imperial army marched to Gujarāt Mullā *Ghazālī* accompanied it in the early stages of the journey. It so happened that a false report of the death of Mullā Qāsim-i-*Kāhī* was spread abroad, and when *Ghazālī* heard it, he composed the following chronogram, which is, although far-fetched, and based on a false rumour, not without elegance.

"The wretched *Kāhī* left the world.

Should you wish to know the date of his death,

Know that since he could not help but go he was constrained. 176

And 'Qāsim-i-*Kāhī* went from the world.'"³

But before this lying tale became a fact Mullā Qāsim-i-*Kāhī* was enabled to take his revenge by composing a chronogram on the death of *Ghazālī*, and a second one also, as full retribution. These have already been cited.⁴ But,

"What can a liar tell, but a lie?"

Although the following couplet is true,

"I have seen poets, within my experience,

Without followers, without offspring, and without any successful issue of their labours."

and all the poets of the present age together, both small and great, are, with the exception of three or four aged men, adherents of the *Jauratī* and *Haidarī* sects, yet these two whom I have just mentioned were the guides and leaders of all the rest, and left the heritage of their baseness to their followers and dependants, dividing it among them in due proportion to the natural fitness

¹ کهن موعین. I think this is the meaning of the phrase, but cannot be sure.

² i.e., 'to accept Islām'

³ ز جهان رفت قاسم کامی giving the date 984 (A.D. 1576-77).

⁴ See above, p. 240, note 8.

⁵ The *Haidarīs* are the followers of Quthb-d-din 'Alī, founder of a mystic sect. I have no information regarding the *Jauratīs*.

and ability of each one to avail himself of it, and with due regard to the claims which each had acquired by former companionship with them.

When I regard this vile gang I am oppressed by the fear that the poets of old ¹ (may God protect us from them!) may perhaps have resembled them. God forbid that it should have been so! Yet the experience of ages tells us that worldly people in each particular period follow closely in one another's footsteps and that there are no radical differences of disposition among them.

III. Kh'āja Husain of Marv.²

He was one of the sons of that saint of the Lord and traveller in the path of the Eternal God, Shaiḫ Ruknu-d-dīn 'Alā'u-d-daulah of Samanān (may God sanctify his tomb!). In those branches of knowledge which exercise the reasoning faculty, he was the pupil of Maulānā 'Iṣāmu-d-dīn and Mullā Ḥanafī, and in the study of the holy law he was the disciple of the last and best of the sages and traditionists Shaiḫnu-bnu-Ḥajar-i-Sāni

¹ Badā'oni is possibly referring to those poets who wrote against Muḥammad. See *Qur'ān*, c. xxvi.

² Kh'āja Husain is thus described in the *Āin* (i, 574). 'He possessed many excellent qualities, and sold his encomiums at a high price. He lived at the court of Humāyūn, and was also during this reign highly favoured.' In the *Ṭabaqāt* he is thus described, 'He is by origin the son of a *vazīr*. He has acquired learning, and was distinguished above his fellows by a high degree of intelligence and the sharpness of his understanding. He was for years in the service of the emperor Humāyūn and was one of his intimates, and a member of his heavenly assembly.' See vol. ii, text, pp. 120, 132. Kh'āja Husain composed a *qaṣīdah* on the birth of Sulṭān Salīm (Jahāngīr) containing chronograms for the accession of Akbar and the birth of Salīm. Badā'oni says that the first hemistich of each couplet is a chronogram for the former event, and the second hemistich of each couplet a chronogram for the latter, but this is not so. He also composed a *qit'ah* of seven couplets on the birth of Salīm and Murād, the first hemistich of each couplet of which purports to be a chronogram for Salīm's birth, and the second hemistich of each couplet a chronogram for Murād's. There are, however, some errors in the chronograms. For the *qaṣīdah* he received two lakhs of *tankas* and it was, perhaps, this reward to which Abū-l-Faḡl referred when he said that Husain sold his encomiums at a high price.

(may God have mercy on him!). His facility in verse, his elegance in literary style, his rhetorical flourishes, his fine delivery, 177 his polish and copiousness of diction, and his wit, were unrivalled. He composed a *dirān*, and his poetry, though not in the first rank, is of respectable quality. The following couplets are by him:—

“O, thou in whose absence the tears drop from my eyelashes.

While the thought of sleep¹ is banished from my eyes!

Thou didst display thyself to me in such wise as thou wert not.

Alas! that thou wert not such as thou didst seem.”

It seems likely that this couplet is an imitation of the following quatrain:—

“We say that maybe we are of the faithful,—but we are not.

And that we are of the truthful and sincere,—but we are not.

We are adorned outwardly, but inwardly we are otherwise.

Alas! that we are not what we seem to be!”

The following couplets are also by *Marvī*:—

“With me thy brow is wrinkled like the rosebud,

With others thy lips open in smiles, like the pistachio.”

“I wish that the love which I bear to thee,

Should be known to me, and to thee, and to God.”

The following couplets in praise of Muḥammad are from the translation of the *Singhāsan Batīsī*,² of which His Majesty ordered this poet to make a translation, which was never completed:—

¹ The text and the MSS. have خیال و خواب (‘ideas and sleeps’): خیال خوب makes better sense.

² This book is not mentioned in the *Āin-i-Akbarī* as one of those translated by Akbar’s orders; but see vol. ii, text, p. 183. Badāonī was apparently ordered to complete the translation. He says that the book is a collection of thirty-two stories concerning Rājā Bīkramājī (Vikramāditya)

"The sweet-voiced nightingale of the garden of revelation !
 Whose eyes were anointed with the antimony of us base
 crows,
 Who in his unquestionable abrogation of the Psalms of
 David,
 Has drawn his pen through the copies of the Pentateuch
 and the Gospels,
 To his high court is prophecy entrusted,
 To him, the chief of the prophets and the seal of apostle-
 ship."

A Quatrain.

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"I am he whose kingdom is the realm of words,
 The money-changer of wisdom is the appraiser of my
 threaded gems.
 The exordium "Be!" is but one leaf of my writings;
 'The secrets of the two worlds are on the tip of my pen."

In the year H. 979 (A.D. 1571-72) he obtained permission to depart from Hindūstān and to go to his native land, and Shaiḡh Faizi, who was his pupil, found the date of his departure in the words "may his shadow be extended!"¹ He went to Kābul and was received with consideration and honour by Mirzā Muḡammad Ḥakīm, but when he presented his pīshkush² of merchandise, goods, valuables, and precious articles from India, he rose from his place and took the list of his presents from the hands of the registrar of complimentary presents and detailed and explained the quantity, quality and name of each description of cloth, even going so far as to give the price of each. The Mirzā was much displeased at this breach of decorum, and, rising from an assembly with which he was disgusted, ordered that all who pleased should fall on the spoil and carry off what they could,

of Mālwa (see *Ain-i-Akbari*, ii, 211), and that the book resembles the *Tūḡināmā* ('Tales of a Parrot'). Badāonī called his translation *Nāma-yi Khirād-afzā*.

¹ بِلَاغ, literally 'sending' or 'apostleship.'

² دام ظله, giving 980, one year in excess.

³ Complimentary present.

so that in the space of an hour everything disappeared. The *Kh'āja* shortly after this died in Kābul.

IV. QĀSIM-I-ARSALĀN.¹

He wrote poetry under the *nom-de-plume* of Arsalān on account of his father's claim to descent from Arsalān-i-Jāzib, one of the great nobles of the court of Sultān Maḥmūd-i-Ḡhaznavī. His native place was Tūs² and he grew to manhood in Transoxiana. He was a poet sweet of song, welcome to all, both great and small, for his personal beauty and graceful wit, adorned with the ornament of an open and cheerful disposition and with the quality of sociability and social amiability. In the composing of chronograms he had no equal. He was the author of a *dirān*, and the following few couplets are of his making:—

“I wish to raise my head, at the resurrection, from a spot of earth

On which the foot of a fair one shall be lingering in grace- 179
ful coquetry.”

“O, thou who hardly givest up but half thy life, what place hast thou

Where lives are freely given by the hundred for one glance from the beloved?”

I remember something very like this latter couplet in an ode of the author of which I cannot quite recall the name. It is as follows:—

¹ Arsalān is mentioned in the *Āin-i-Akbarī* (i, 103) under the name of Nūru'llah Qāsim Arsalān as one of the renowned calligraphists of the age. Abū-l-Faḍl describes him as a poet (*op. cit.*, i, 609) as follows: ‘Qāsim Arsalān of Maḡḡhad. He possesses some talent. He works hard in order to collect wealth and spends it in a genial way.’ In the *Ṭabaqāt* he is thus described, ‘He was a Maḡḡhadi and was brought up in Transoxiana. He passed many years in the service of the emperor. He wrote the *Nastā'liq* script well. He held broad views on religion. He composed a *dirān*.’

² A city of *Khurāsān*, the native town of Firdausi and of his master, Ḥakīm Asadī.

"What though I be alone with thee in lovers' meeting?
Thy modesty repels me more than a thousand watchers."

Another couplet by Qāsim-i-Arsalān—

"Both letter and spirit of my reading mourn my lot,
Without thee how can I keep my regard intent on my book?"

"As we passed weeping to the loved one's dwelling,
A hundred times in each step we crossed a river of tears."

He has written the following verse descriptive of the mountain of Ajmir, the holy burial place of the *Kh'āja*, the pole-star of pole-stars, *Kh'āja Mu'inu-d-din-i-Ajmīri-yi-Cishtī* (may his tomb be hallowed!):—

"Lo! The mountain of Ajmir, a mountain of ambergris,
The lodging of the chief of the leaders of *Cisht*.
What hill is this, that when it raises its head to the empy-
rean,
Has the ocean of the sky no higher than its midst?
The bodies of the sun and moon appear
From that hill no larger than the eagle's eye.¹
Fountains there are therein, like to the sun in brilliancy,
Their sand² is the starry host of heaven.
Heaven's eagle³ winged his flight,
To seek its summit, but his flight fell short,
Should but a stone be loosened from that fort,
It would in its downward course loosen the strongholds of
heaven from their foundations.
That darting brilliance which issues from the clouds is not
lightning,
It is nought but the sword-like summit of that mountain
striking the sky.

¹ i.e., so great a distance are they below it.

² The text has رنگ ('colour'). I follow the MSS., both of which have ریگ ('sand').

³ نسر طائر ('the flying eagle'). The constellation Aquila.

Glancing from that mountain foot the beholder sees
 The sky as a clear pool, and the moon as the fish's¹ eye.
 The torrents which rush down from that awful stronghold
 would carry away a thousand hills such as Alwand and
 Alburz.²

When the eagle rises from the vase of the fortress' walls,
 His shadow falls on the moon and sun.
 Arsalān, behold the loftiness of its mere foundations!
 The sun seeks protection beneath their shadow."

The *Mulla* in the year in which the emperor returned from
 Ātak took up his dwelling in Lahōr. He died in the year H. 995
 (A.D. 1587).

I should state here that the three or four poets whose biographies I have already given have been mentioned first on account of the fame which they acquired as poets only, and of the ill-luck which they brought with them to the world, as they occurred in my mind, and in no particular order. Henceforward for ready reference and for the sake of method I shall mention the poets in the alphabetical order of their poetical *cognomina*.

V. ĀTASHI OF QANDAHĀR.³

He came to Hindūstān with the Emperor Bābar, and was at first a *vāqī'ah-narīs*.⁴ Subsequently, in the service of his late Majesty also he held several high posts, and died in Lāhōr in the year H. 973 (A.D. 1565-66). Some of his verses are the following:—

"In thine absence my tears by degrees became a sea,
 behold!

Come, sit in my eye as in a boat and make a voyage of the
 sea!"

¹ The 'fish' here signifies the constellation Pisces.

² Alwand is a high mountain in Hamadān. Alburz is either mount Alburz in the Caucasus (18,572 feet) or the Alburz mountains between Māzandarān and Tīhrān, the highest point in which is mount Damāvand (19,400 feet).

³ Ātashī is not mentioned as a poet in the *Āin* or in the *Tabaqūt*.

⁴ A news-writer.

"Aye, have a dagger at thy waist, a sword in thy hand, a
frown on thy brow,
Thirst for blood and be cruel and still implacable."

181 "What can one do with one who knows nought of those who
are faithful?
What can one do with one whose body shines as silver and
who still inclines to wrath?"

"The crescent moon shines in the gloaming on the eve of
'Id.¹

Setting us free to haste to seek a cup of rosy wine."

At the time when his late Majesty recovered from his indisposition in the Fort of Victory, this poet composed the following quatrain:—

"A thousand thanks to God, that His Majesty the Emperor is
freed from the sorrow of sickness,
That he has arisen and seated himself once more on the
throne of his glory.
The news of his recovery was conveyed to me by the words,
'Thanks be to God that His Majesty has recovered.' "

VI. ASHRAF KHÂN, MİR MUNSIF.²

He was a Husainī Sayyid of the holy city of Mashhad. He was well qualified to instruct the best calligraphists of the world

¹ The appearance of the new moon on the evening of Shawwāl 1, or, as we should say, on the evening of the last day of Ramāzān, is the signal for the breaking of the thirty days' fast. The Musalmāns reckon their days as do the Jews, from sunset to sunset. The 'Idu-l-Fitr' is the festival at the end of the fast.

² Muḥammad Aṣghar, a Husainī Sayyid of Sabzavār, according to the *Āin* (i, 389), bnt of Mashhad, according to the *Ma'āṣiru-l-Umarā* and the *Mir'ātu-l-Ālam*. Ashraf was a clever writer, exact in his style, and a renowned calligrapher, who improved the *Ta'liq* very much. He also understood *jāfar*, or witchcraft. He was in Humāyūn's service, and had received

in the seven different styles of penmanship. He was one of the most trusted among the nobles, and it is a pity that he should have merited the name of poet, but since he had natural poetical ability, the following verses of his are quoted :—

“Before I have received a single cup from the hand of the
cup-bearer of fate,
The stone of reproach strikes my wine-jar. What can I
do ? ”

“We are those in this world whose hearts are sad,
A heart as sad as our own, we know not of.”

A Quatrain.

“O, Lord ! consume me not in the fire of Thy wrath ! 18
But light the lamp of faith within the house of my heart ;
And as for this robe of life which hangs torn on my body.
Of Thy mercy stitch it again with the thread of forgive-
ness.”

Another Quatrain.

“Free from the alloy and like fine gold came love from the
assay.
Well were it to spend the cash of our lives in the business
of love.
Since the expanse of thy beauty blossomed like the rose,
The thorns of love have pierced my breast as that of the
nightingale is pierced.”

VII. AMĪR QĀZI, ASĪRĪ.¹

He possessed both learning and accomplishments. For some years he studied under Hakīmū-l-Mulk, and was the best of all his from him the post and title of *Mir Munshi*. At Akbar's succession he was in Dillī, and took part in the battle against Hemū. He was imprisoned by Bairam, but escaped and went to Makkah. He returned in A.H. 968 (A.D. 1560-61) when Akbar was in Māchiwāra on his way to the Siwālīks, where Bairam was. He was well received and got a *marṣaḥ*. In the following year Akbar bestowed on him the title of *Ashraf Khan*. In 1574 he went with Mun'im to Bengal, and died at Gaur in 1575.

¹ Called in the *Tahzīb* *Mir Ghāzī*, Asirī. Abū-l-Faṣl in the *Āin* (i, 529)

pupils. He was one of the most entertaining men of his time. As the climate of India did not suit him, and as he obtained no real promotion in the imperial service, in spite of his having been admitted to the circle of His Majesty's intimates, he went at length to his own country, and in the city of Rai, the native place of his ancestors, he obtained rest from the toils of the world and departed this life. The following verses are quoted as an indication of the copiousness of his imagination:—

“The jealous watcher himself has been our intermediary,
while I suspected no fraud.

He has been enabled to interpose between us his own conditions.”

“’Twas but yesterday that my loved one derided my piteous lot,

My grief and her derision were plain to see.”

“To-day has my heart’s anguish grown more acute.

183 For to-day it seems that my loved one is more than ever bent on my destruction.”

“I am wounded to the heart by the arrow of a fair boy to whose hands time

Has not yet delivered a bow to sport withal.”

“The hope of union with thee forbade me to surrender my life,

Else I would gladly have died when I parted from thee.”

“I lament the presence of others when that silver-bodied one draws nigh.

It would seem that my tongue breaks into speech from constancy to her.”

says that his name was Amīr Qāzī and that he came from Rai, near Tibrīn. He adds, ‘he is a man of education.’

"The zest of union with her never leaves my heart,
For she spoke with me in graceful coquetry and looked for
my coming."

VIII. MİR IMĀMĪ, KNOWN AS MUḤRACA.¹

He was a *Sayyid* of Kābul. In the year H. 981 (A.D. 1573-74) he fell from his horse in Jannpūr, and died of the injuries which he received. He wrote a *dirān*, and the following chronogram which he composed on the death of a graceful boy of rare beauty, named Sultān Caghatāi, is well known.

"Sultān Caghatā was the rose of the garden of beauty,
But death was his guide to the garden of Rizwān.²
In the season of roses he set forth to journey from this
garden,
Many hearts in mourning for him were drenched with their
blood.
I asked of the mourning nightingale the date of his death,
He broke into lamentations and said, "The rose has left the
garden!"³

"How shall I compare thy stature to the letter *alif*, O palm- 184
tree of life?

For *alif* is quiescent⁴ while thy graceful form is ever in
motion."

¹ Both the text and the MSS. have *manāḥca* (manāḥca), which is meaningless and etymologically improbable. I venture to substitute *magian*, 'the Magian boy.'

² The keeper of the garden of Paradise.

³ This chronogram is an emigma. The numerical value of باغ ('garden') is 1003 and of گل ('the rose') 50. If 'the rose' be taken from 'the garden' 953 (A.D. 1546-47) remains. This, then, is the date of Sultān Caghatāi's death.

⁴ A grammatical conceit. *Alif* is quiescent (i.e. carries no vowel) until it is strengthened by *hamzah*.

"My heart in thinking on that sweet mouth is in the straits
of perturbation,
Perturbation has confronted it from the place in which it is
bred."

"Never do I forget thee, possessor of all sweet attributes.
Though thou forget me, yet do I never forget thee."

A Quatrain.

"For the proof of His existence what need is there of words,
Since He is all in all, both of what is manifest and what is
hidden ?
They tell me to open my mouth in denial of all that is apart
from Him ;
But what shall I deny ? Where is there a trace of ought
that is apart from Him ? " ¹

Another Quatrain.

"The juggler who sits on the prayer-mat of the blue expanse
of sky
Shines in the morning with the mark of piety on his face,
At midday he straightens himself up in prayer,
And when he, the leader of the prayers, made his inclina-
tion, the rest prostrated themselves." ²

IX. MİR SHARĪF-I-AMĀNĪ, OF IṢFAHĀN.³

He wrote charming verses. He spent twenty years of his life
in India, living in religious retirement. The following verses are
from his pen :—

"The flood of my tears rushed towards her dwelling,
To wash the dust of strangers' feet from her threshold."

¹ This quatrain sets forth the pantheism of the *Sūfis*.

² The sun's daily course is likened to the ritual prayers.

³ Amānī is not mentioned in the *Āin-i-Akbarī* as a poet. In the *Tubagāt* he is called Mīr Amānī, and one of his couplets is quoted, but no other account of him is given.

The water of life is but a type of thy ruby lips.

Where is a *ḫẓīr*¹ to give his life in keen desire for them ?" 185

"Like *Amānī*, in the desire of losing my head by a stroke of thy sword

I have entered the ranks of the army (of thy lovers) with nought but my life for my shield."

"It is not the presence of the stranger in thine assemblies to which I object,

But thy friendly glances for the stranger which I cannot endure."

N. QĀZI AHMAD-I-GHAFFĀR OF QAZVIN.²

He was a son of Imām Najmū-d-dīn 'Abdu-l-Ghaffār, who was the author of a compendium of the *Shāfi'i*³ doctrines. In learning, in elegance of literary style, in knowledge of history, and in geniality of disposition he was unrivalled. He wrote the *Nigāristān*,⁴ a compendium the like of which has not been produced by the wit of anybody in this age, and wherein are related wondrous circumstances and strange occurrences. He also wrote the book *Nash-i-Jalālū-Arā*,⁵ the date of the composition of which is given by the title. It is a cursory history of the world from the time of Adam to the days of his holiness the seal of prophecy (may God bless and save him 'c. The Qāzi towards the end of his life gave up the office of *cazi*, which he held under the princes of 'Irāq, and after his resignation proceeded on a pilgrimage to the

¹ The guardian of the water of life.

² Qāzi Ahmad is not mentioned as a poet either in the *Īn-o-Alharī*, or in the *Tubaydt*.

³ The school of jurisprudence founded by Imām *Shāfi'i*, one of the four great *Sunnī* doctors of the law.

⁴ 'The Picture-Gallery.' There is a MS. of a *Nigāristān* by Ibn-i-Muhammād Ahmad (No. $\frac{m}{177}$) in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

⁵ I have not been able to find any other mention of this work. The title gives the date 971 (A.D. 1563-64).

holy place (Makkah). After attaining the felicity of performing this pilgrimage he came to Hindūstān by way of the port of Dābul,¹ when the hand of fate, suddenly loosing the cord of the existence of that incomparable man, led him to the world of immortality. This occurred in the year H. 975 (A.D. 1567-68).

The following couplet is by him :—

186 “If that fair tyrant sit by me, after a lifetime of expectancy,
My heart will flutter in my breast, lest she should rise too soon.”

XI. MĪR AṢḤKĪ OF QUM.²

In his poetry he displayed a pleasing fertility of imagination, and he was an imitator of Āṣafī. In Āgra he placed the baggage for his journey to the next world on the back of Death's swift steed. I append some of his verses.

“He whose bosom is rent with grief in thine absence beat his head with a stone so violently
That the stone became nought but a handful of dust in his grasp.”

¹ Both the text and the MSS. have دابل. The port was Dābul or Dābhol, a famous port on the west coast of India in Muḥammadan times. See *Imp. Gazetteer of India*, new series, xi, 100.

² In the *Āin-i-Ākbarī* (i, 598) Abū-l-Faẓl says, ‘Aṣḥkī of Qum is a Ṭabāṭabā’ī Sayyid, and is a poet of some talent.’ The Ṭabāṭabā’ī Sayyids are the descendants of the great-great-grandson of ‘Alī, Ismā’īl bin Ibrāhīm, called Ṭabāṭabā from a defect in his speech which caused him to pronounce the letter ق like ط.

From the *Haft Iqlīm* we learn that Mīr Aṣḥkī was the son of Mīr Sayyid ‘Alī, Muḥtasib (public censor) of Qum in Persia. Aṣḥkī's elder brother, Huẓūrī, was also known as a poet. Aṣḥkī was attracted to India by the fame and success of Ghazālī, but he did not meet Ghazālī. The number of his verses exceeded 10,000; and when on his death-bed he gave his several *dirāns* to Mīr Judā’ī to arrange. Mīr Judā’ī, however, published whatever he thought good in his own name, and threw the remainder into water. *Vide* *infra* No. XXXII. Dāghistānī says that Aṣḥkī died in Mīr Judā’ī's house, and he ascribes the epigram to Ghazālī; but as he only quotes a hemistich the statement of the contemporary *Haft Iqlīm* is preferable.

"In grief at thine absence I will smite my head, wretched
being that I am, with a stone.

Should my hand fail of its office I will strike my head upon
the stone."

"I, thy candle, O my King, am a slave like Nuṣair,
Though decapitated a hundred times I yet live."

"Those slain by thy cruelty lie scattered here and there like
drunken men.

It would seem that thy sword was tempered with wine in-
stead of water."

"So much has my body melted away in grief at thine absence,
That if thou castest a chain on my neck it falls about my
feet."

It is said that when he recited this last opening couplet before
Maulānā Ṣādiq in Qandahār, and sought his approbation, the
Maulānā said, "You have stolen this idea from Amīr Khusrav of
Dihlī, who says—

'So much has my mournful body melted in thine absence
That if thou placest a collar about my neck it falls to my
feet.'"

Another Couplet by Ashkī.

"If I would fall in following thee smitten with the stone
of calamity,

Stones rain upon me from every hair on my head prevent- 187
ing me from falling."

Ashkī seems to have used the metaphor of the stone so much as
to leave nothing else for others to say upon the subject.

"See my feeble body among the dogs of thy street.
This one drags it one way, that one another"

"My hair hangs dishevelled from my head down to my feet,
My body appears in the midst of it like a single white hair,"

XII. YOL QULI ANISI.¹

He is a Shāmlū Turkman in the service of the Khān-i-Khānān. He writes pleasing poetry and has composed a *maṣnavī*. The following verses are his work:—

"My heart is a fire-temple when I think of thee, and on it
Is thy brand, like a black Hindū who tends the fire."

"When you see a tongue of flame deem it to be a tormented
fire-worshipper

Whose soul has departed, while his body still dances in the
fire-temple." [heart,

"Love is like the loadstone, for when its arrow enters the
It cannot be removed till love itself in kindness draws it
forth."

XIII. MULLA GHANI, AMANI.²

He is a young man in the flower of manhood. He was for a long time in Gujarāt with Khāja Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad, and at first assumed the *nom de plume* of Khaufī, which the Khājā changed, giving him his present *takhalluṣ*. He is now in the service of His Majesty's eldest son. His disposition is pleasing. The following quatrain is his:—

"I am one who can treasure up nought but grief:

Though I am all jealousy I cannot renounce the loved one,

¹ Anisi is thus described in the *Āin-i-Akbarī* (i, 578), 'Anisi Shāmlū. His real name is Yol Qulī. He is a man of a happy heart and of pure manners. He is brave and sincere.' The *Ma'āzī-i-Raḥīmī* says that he was a good soldier and served as librarian to 'Alī Qulī Khān Shāmlū, the Persian Governor of Hirāt, when he made the acquaintance of Shikibī and Maḥwī. He wrote at first under the *takhalluṣ* of Jānu, but the Persian prince, Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mirzā, gave him the name of Anisi, under which he is known in literature. When Hirāt was conquered by 'Abdu-'Ilāh Khān, Anisi was captured by an Uzbek soldier and carried off to Transoxiana. He then went to India and entered the service of Mirzā 'Abdur-i-Raḥīm, Khān-i-Khānān. He died at Burhānpūr in A.H. 1014 (A.D. 1605-06). He left a *maṣnavī*, a *divān*, and several *qaṣīdahs* in praise of the Khān-i-Khānān.

² According to the *Zubayāt* Amani came from Bukhārā, and was for a long time in the emperor's service, and was for some time a news-writer. He wrote good prose and compiled a *divān*. He also wrote a *maṣnavī*, a *shahr-aṣṣh*,

XIV. ACTION OF BARBERSHIRE.

sand: His faith is orthodox. For some time he held the title of *Jumlatu-l-Mulk*,¹ and is now Governor of the *Şūba* of Kābul. He has poetical genius and facility in writing verse. The following few couplets are by him :—

“No sooner had my sun cast the veil from off her face
Than the sun appeared no more than a mote in a sunbeam
in motion,
I am slain by that languid narcissus-like eye, which, in its
heaviness,
Has slain a whole world and composed itself to sleep.”

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“Thy two dark languid eyes² play havoc with my wit and
my faith,
-With drawn bows they lie in wait for me in every corner.”

“It is not the rosebud-like arrow of my slayer that rankles
in my heart,
But my own blood which, while apart from her lips, I have
swallowed, that is clotted in my heart.”

XVI. ULFATI OF YAZD.

He was well skilled in the exact sciences. He was a companion of the *Khān-i-Zamān*, and was captured in his rebellion.³ The emperor spared his life, but death, less merciful, took it from him. The following opening couplets of *qaṣīdahs* are his :—

“Until like dust I settled on the skirts of the robe of my
beloved,
I had no rest from my wanderings nor ease at my heart.”

not been able to discover a tribe with any such name. Perhaps, *Badāoni* means to say that he was of those who would not hesitate to sacrifice their lives for the emperor.

¹ Qilij *Khān* was twice *dīrān*.

² Literally ‘Turks,’ a favourite simile.

³ In 1567, see vol. ii, text, 100.

"We are but a handful of ashes, but we carry fire in us,
It would be no wonder if we were consumed by the sparks
of our own sighs."

The Khān-i-Zamān gave him a thousand rupees as a reward for composing this latter couplet.

XVII. ULFATH OF 'IRĀQ.

He was for some time in Kashmir with Mirzā Yūsuf Khān,¹ and there he composed a poem on the people of the city in which he dwelt.² The following couplet occurs in it:—

"Sarmadī³ is the squirrel of the tree of the poets.
He loves the stature of Orion and the feelers of the Crab."

On a youth who was beloved by Mirzā Yūsuf Khān he wrote the following couplet:—

"Mirzā Yūsuf, the prince of the age, is in love.
He loves thy pure love, but he loves the beauty of others."

XVIII. BAIRAM KHAN, THE KHAN-I-KHANAN.⁴

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He was one of the offspring of Mirzā Jahān Shāh. In wisdom, generosity, sincerity, goodness of disposition, submissiveness, and humility he surpassed all. In early life he was in the service of the emperor Bābar, and in middle age he obtained advancement in the service of emperor Humāyūn, and received the honourable title of Khān-i-Khānān, and his present Majesty added *Bābā-am*⁵ to his titles. He was a great friend to religious, was subject to fits of religious ecstacy, and was a benevolent man. The second

¹ See *Jin-i-Akbari*, i, 315, Mirzā Yūsuf Khān was appointed to Kashmir in 1587, but resigned four years later. He was subsequently reinstated at the request of Sultān Salim.

² شهر آشوب literally 'city disturbing.' A poem in praise or disparagement of the people of a city.

³ *Fide infra* No. lxii.

⁴ See *Jin-i-Akbari*, i, 315, and Badāoni, vol. ii, text, *passim*. Badāoni had a great admiration for Bairam Khān, although he was a Shi'ah.

⁵ 'My father.'

conquest of Hindūstān,¹ and the building up of the empire were due to his strenuous efforts, his valour, and his wise policy. Learned men came from all parts of the world to visit him and departed happy in the possession of gifts bestowed by his hand, as open as ocean itself, and his high court, lofty as the sky, was the resort of the lords of learning and all perfect qualities. His existence was, indeed, an honour to the age in which he lived. At last vile hypocrites poisoned the mind of His Majesty against him, until his affairs fell at length into the condition of which a brief description has been given in the chronicle of the reign.² He has composed a *divān* in Persian and Turki which is in every hand, as his verses are on every tongue. This quatrain is his:—

“The masters of self-effacement are both high and low,
It is they who are ever drunken with draughts from the cup
of immortality.

Whatever there may be in the plane of non-existence,
Know for certain that it is they alone who truly exist.”

“Oh! Thou whose street is the *Ka'bah*³ of our happiness,
Whose Face is the point towards which we turn in prayer!
Blest will be the time when thou graciously drawest us to
Thyself,
Freeing us from the bonds of ceremonialism and conventional-
ity!”

He wrote an ode in praise of his holiness ‘Ali, the commander of the faithful (may God be gracious unto his countenance!) of which the following are the opening couplets:—

“Though a king be so great that his crown towers over the
nine heavens,
If he be not the slave of ‘Ali let dust be cast upon his head.
Hope not for love for the king of men from one who knows
not his own father,
Cujus matris ignominiam discooperint alienus.”

¹ i.e., on Humāyūn's return from Persia. Bābar's was the ‘first’ conquest.

² Vol. ii.

³ The temple of Makkah; here used by a trope for any object of desire.

The following is the commencement of a *qaṣīdah* which he wrote on the astrolabe:—

“What globe is this whose axis rests on the centre (of the universe).

This full moon across whose midst the meteors dart?

Though it vaunts itself the equal of both sun and moon

It gladly enrolls itself among the emperor's slaves.

The sun's resplendent orb looms not so largely in our eyes

As the crescents which surmount the banners of the world-famed king of kings—

Both sky and earth are ever subject to his authority.

Like the seal of a ring on the hand of a monarch as powerful as Jamshīd.

This globe brings with it a golden tray full of *ashrafīs*

To scatter before the feet of great kings.

The feet of the emperor of exalted dignity, Humāyūn, 192
before whom, in order to obtain honour.

The sky itself places the head of humility on the threshold
of the Court.”

They relate that the emperor Humāyūn was one night in conversation with Bairam Khān, who was overcome by drowsiness. His Majesty reprovingly said, “Ha, Bairam Khān! It is to you that I am speaking.” He replied, “Yes, sire, I am attentive, but since I have heard that in the service of kings a watch should be kept over the eyes, and among *darrīshes* a watch should be kept over the heart, and among learned men a watch should be kept over the tongue. I was just pondering over which I should keep a watch, for Your Majesty is a King, a *darrīsh*, and a learned man.” His late Majesty was much pleased with this seemingly reply, and expressed his approval of it.

Bairam Khān obtained the blessing of martyrdom¹ at Paṭṭan in Gujarāt in the year H. 968 (A.D. 1561) and his bones were, in accordance with his will, taken to Mashhad.

¹ He was murdered by Mubārak Khān, an Afghān: see vol. ii, text, 45. He is accounted a martyr, because he was on his way to Makkah when he was killed.

XIX. BIKASĪ OF GHAZNĪN.

He was known for his varied attainments and numerous accomplishments. He had performed the pilgrimage to the two holy places, Makkah and Madinah, and afterwards came to India. In Arabia he had studied some of the books of traditions such as the *Mishkāṭ*,¹ and the *Shamā'ilu-n-Nabī*² (may God bless and preserve the prophet!) under Mir Murtazā-yi-Sharīfī³ and others. Being overcome by the weakness of old age he set out for his beloved native land, his original home, and while halting at Peshāwar on his way thither he heard the cry, "Return to Me!" from the lips of the Angel of Death, and in A.H. 973 (A.D. 1565-66) he withdrew to the Presence of the Merciful God.

The following verses are some of the relics of his copious imagination.

- 193 "Whether in the idol-temple or in the *Ka'bah* I have looked
to none but Thee,
Wherever I have been I have never been forgetful of
Thee."
-

"It is not in our age alone that the sky (fate) has been
pitiless,
Since its revolutions first began it has been both pitiless
and faithless."

"Though *Bīkasī* should hear the reproaches of his enemies
a hundred times,
'It were fitting that he should not allow them to vex or
disturb him,
For the following perfect couplet is well known throughout
the world:
And why, indeed, should not such a couplet have world-
wide fame?"

¹ The *Mishkāṭu-l-Maṣābiḥ*. See vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 58, note 3, et passim.

² Apparently the same as the *Shamā'ilu-l-Muḥammadiyyah*. See vol. i, 625, note 6.

³ See below, No. cxxii.

‘ Though the worthless stone crush the golden vase
The worth of the stone is not increased nor is that of the
gold diminished.’ ”

Quatrain.

“ Oh heart, give not the rein to thine anguish and grief !
Forgo not one moment of true delight for all the dominion
of Jamshid ;
Should a loved one fall to thy lot, see well
That thou exchange not the dust of her footsteps for all
that both worlds can give.”

Maulānā *Bikāṣī* writes that one day the late emperor Humāyūn wrote in his own graceful handwriting over the arch of the porch of his palace in the royal residence of Dihli the following couplet by *Shaiḵh Āḡarī* :—

‘ “ I have heard that on this gilded dome
Is written ‘ At last the actions of all become praiseworthy.’ ”

The emperor was fated shortly afterwards to leave this narrow dwelling of deception for the sweet abode of bliss,¹ and owing 194
to the exigencies of the time that very palace was utilized
as his tomb, and since this action of that enlightened king was
attributed to miraculous prevision the chronogram for that event,
contained in the following verses, was widely quoted at the
time :—

“ When the Emperor Humāyūn shortly before he died
Wrote on the door of the dwelling in which he lived,
‘ It is written that at the last the actions of all become praise-
worthy,’
He referred prophetically to his own righteous end ;
And when that dwelling by the decree of fate became his
tomb
It became the point towards which all turn in prayer, and
the *Ka’bah* of their desires.

¹ On Rabī’u-l-awwal 15, A.H. 963 (Jan. 25, 1556). See vol. i, trans. Ranking, pp. 600–602. Firishṭa places his death four days earlier, but Badāonī is the better authority.

For this reason I give the following chronogram for his death,

'The foundation of the dwelling¹ of the Sultān whose end was praiseworthy.' "

XX. BĀQĪ OF KOLĀB.²

He had a natural talent for poetry. The following verses are his :—

"In thine absence I am the slave of a hundred griefs,
Do thou rejoice since I am overwhelmed with anguish."

"Although the fair to-day do not know my worth,
They will know it to-morrow when I shall be no more."

"My eyes are suffused sometimes with my heart's blood,
sometimes with blood from my liver,
To me, the wretched one far from her face, even the way
of sight is closed."

"He never becomes liberal like the cypress in the garden of
the world,
Who, like the narcissus, fixes his eyes always in covetous-
ness on silver and gold."

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Bāqī was a long time in Hindūstān and was killed during the rebellion of Ma'sūm the Kābuli.³

XXI. BAYĀZĪ.

He lived in Agra after the fashion of humble men and the style of bygone days. This opening couplet of a *qaṣidah* is his :—

¹ بنای منزل سلطان عاقبت محمود. The chronogram is not quite clear. As it stands it gives the total 1002. If we remove م which is the first letter of منزل, and therefore 'the foundation of the dwelling' which is, perhaps, what the poet intended, we get 962—one year short.

² Kolāb (now more correctly *Kūlāb*) is the name of a town and district in Badakhshān. ³ At Jaunpūr in 1579. See vol. ii, text, p. 276.

"Whoever enjoys the fruits of union with that jasmine-bodied cypress
Owes it to his good fortune. It is his good fortune that enjoys the fruit."

On the discussion raised by Kāhī and Ghazālī¹ he wrote the following quatrain :—

"Kāhī and Ghazālī, those two drunken fools,
Have put hand to pen to belittle Jāmī² and Navā'ī.³
There has been nobody like them in the world,
For Kāhī⁴ is nought but straw and Ghazālī⁵ is nought but a dog."

XXII. PAIRAVĪ,⁶

He is for the most part an imitator⁷ of Kh'ājā Āṣafī. He is a skilful painter and has attained by means of studying the outward form to hidden truths, and has written on outward form and hidden essence a poetical treatise which begins as follows :—

"O Lord, I am unable to grasp hidden truth !
Forgive me, for I am too much a worshipper of the outward form
Of thy grace, O most Pure God !
Thou hast so fashioned the outward form of our earthly tabernacles
That every (fair) form which I see
Points out to me the way to the hidden truths of Thine 19
Essence."

¹ See above, Nos. II and I.

² The great Persian poet, Mallā 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān-i-Jāmī.

³ See below, No. CLVI.

⁴ Kāhī signifies 'strawy.'

⁵ Ghazālī signifies a 'gazelle' or 'antelope,' and ghazālī, the adjective derived from it, might be applied to a hound used for hunting that animal.

⁶ He is thus described in the *Āin-i-Akbarī* (i, 600) 'Pairavī of Sāwā.' His name is Amir Beg. He was a good painter.'

⁷ This is a pun on his *taḥallūs*. *پایرو* (pairar) means 'a follower,' 'an imitator.'

Other Verses.

"When is the wine of love given to him who suffers no pain?

Love for the beautiful is a state of exhilaration. To whose lot does it fall?"

"In my dream I saw her sitting with the jealous watcher,
and my heart was perturbed.

Had I at that moment awoken from my dream I should
have died, but died too late."

"When I cast a glance at her moonlike face, even while I
am looking,

She glowers at me angrily, to bid me not to gaze at her."

"I steal a glance at that graceful one,

And when she looks towards me, I look downwards to the
ground in shame."

"The child of my tears took his way in the road of my
beloved,

Like a sweet orphan he put his foot forward in this path,
But the delicate child was unable to endure love's tyranny,
And called my beloved cruel and faithless."

"I am perturbed when she is away from me,

Lest my moon-faced darling should fall in love with
another."

Fazlari wrote a complete *diwan* of *ghazals*. He died in Hindustan.

XXIII. BAQĀ'Ī.¹

On first leaving his native land he went to the Dakan, where he was with Malik Qumī, the poet. Thence he went to Gujarāt and was there with Mirzū Nizāmu-d-din Aḥmad,² adopting the *nom-de-plume* of Maṣṭūḡhulī. The Mirzā changed it, giving him 197 his present *nom-de-plume*. His poetry is good, and since it is easy and flowing I quote the following excerpts:—

"When love made the eyelashes of the fair ones a lancet,
It caused the blood to flow from my arteries and veins.
Alas, that before I could close my eyes the arrow of
thought of the loved one
Penetrated my eye and thence pierced my heart."

"In place of tears my wounded heart itself drops piecemeal
from my eyes.
From this fiery cloud all the blood of my liver rains down."

"So long as the bird of my heart was the prey of that
hunter.
Each separate hair of my head rose up as a bird rising to
flight."

Baqā'ī has now left the service of the Khān-i-Khānān,³ and they say that he has come to Āgra and intends to go to Lāhōr.

XXIV. MULLĀ NŪRU-D-DIN MUHAMMAD-I-TĀKĪKHĀN.⁴

He was called Safidoni, and assumed the name of Nūrī as his *nom-de-plume*. Since he held the *pargana* of Safidon in the

¹ Baqā'ī was evidently alive when Badā'uni completed this history in A.H. 1004 (A.D. 1596). He must not, therefore, be confounded with the Baqā'ī mentioned in the *Tulāqāt* and below, under Hālatī (Yādgār), No. XLII, who was executed for murdering his father.

² Author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*.

³ Mirzā 'Abdu-r-Rahim.

⁴ See No. LXIX, chapter II.

sarkar of Sirhind¹ as a *jāgīr* for some years, he was spoken of as though he had been a native of that place. He was distinguished for his attainments in geometry, the exact sciences, and astrology, and was one of the intimate companions of the late emperor, obtaining the title of Tarkhān in the course of his confidential association with him. He was unequalled in liberality, generosity, munificence and conviviality, for which qualities he was proverbial. He had poetic talent too, and composed a *divān*. One day on the polo-ground at Fathpūr he was injured by an elephant, and was in great pain. While in this condition he continued to repeat, "Be my witnesses, all of you, that in my present uneasiness I repent of some of my former acts and am resolved to amend my ways." However much he was pressed on the subject he would not say what those particular acts were of which he repented. I said, "The first thing of which you will have repented will surely be the writing of poetry." I do not know whether he was pleased with my suggestion, or annoyed, but the others who were present were much pleased. In the days of his authority he dug a canal from the Jamna, fifty *kurūh* in length, in the direction of Karnāl, and beyond that town. This was the cause of large additions to the cultivated area, and a great increase in the prosperity of the people. As it was dug in the name of the prince Sulṭān Salīm, it was called *Shaiikhūnai*,² which word gives a chronogram for the date of its completion. *Nai* in Hindī means "a stream." At length cruel fate brought utter ruin upon him so that he endured many hardships and privations. When His Majesty in A.H. 994 (A.D. 1586) departed for Āṭak he appointed Mullā Nūru-d-dīn to

¹ No *pargana* of this name is mentioned in the account of the *sarkār* of Sirhind on pp. 295, 296 of vol. ii of the *Ain-i-Akbarī*. Safidon is now a town in the Jind State and *taḥṣīl* in the Panjāb. See *Imp. Gazetteer of India*, new series, xxi, 349.

² The text and the MSS. have *Shaiikhūnai*, which is wrong, for the numerical values of its letters give the total 967, ten years before the birth of Salīm (Jahāngir), who was born in A.H. 977 (A.D. 1569); we must, therefore, read *Shaiikhūnnai*, which not only gives the correct date, but also contains the name of Salīm, whose father called him by the pet name of *Shaiikhū*, deeming him to have been granted to the prayers of *Shaiikh* Salim-i-Qisṭī.

the trusteeship of the tomb of the late Emperor in the imperial city of Dihli, and there the *Mullā* died. The following verses are excerpts from his poems:—

“Sad at heart am I sitting, far from those smiling lips,
Like the rose-bud am I sitting, with my head cast down to
my collar.”

“In his kindness and generosity
The most just King conferred on *Tarkhān*¹ the title *Khān*.
Of this *Khān*-ate he possesses the name alone
From this name, however full of dignity, what does he gain?
Nay more, he makes this complaint of the *tarkhān*-ate also
Before the king's perfect wisdom, 199
That besides the “*khān*” nothing but desert lands seems to
remain to him.
While with his *tarkhān*-ate moisture² seems to disappear
from them altogether.”

The *Khān*, when the Emperor was marching against Ḥakīm Mirzā in A.H. 989 (A.D. 1581), remained behind and returned from the Panjāb to his own *jāgir*, a line of conduct which excited suspicion against him, so that after the Emperor's return from this expedition he was summoned to Fathpūr, there to be called to account for his monetary transactions and his writings, to be reprimanded, and deprived of his title. In this manner, he was persecuted for some years. Those who are qualified to dis-

¹ *Tarkhān* was a Moghal title which was hereditary for nine generations and carried with it extraordinary privileges (vide *Jin-i-Akbarī*, i, 364). From these verses it would appear that Nūr-d-dīn claimed to be a *Tarkhān* by hereditary right, whereas Akbar bestowed on him first the title of *Khān* and then that of *Tarkhān*, the latter, however, merely as an honorary title, without any of the substantial privileges formerly attached to it. The same was evidently the case with his earlier title of *Khān*.

² This is a clever poem. *tar* (tar) means ‘moist.’ The poet says that he had nothing but waste lands with his title of *Khān*, but that when he was made *tar-Khān* what little moisture there was in these lands seemed to evaporate.

criminate attribute his ruin to the impropriety of which he was guilty in lampooning the officials in the imperial city of Dihli, wherein he was actuated solely by the enmity which he bore to Tātār Khān.¹ The satire which he wrote he chose to attribute to Qāsim-i-Kahī, publishing it as the work of that poet. The grounds upon which his satire was based will be best defined by quoting from the effusion.

“Miyān Jamāl Khān² is the *muftī* of Dihli,
But he never yet delivered one of his foolish judgments
gratis;³
He is the Governor of the city under Tātār Khān,
And has just such another little donkey's face as his master's.
Shaiḳh Ḥasan the little decree-writer with his poisoned pen
Spreads on all sides false news and slanderous whispers.
At the very time of prayer he performs, in a perfunctory
manner, his ceremonial ablutions
When the reader has already ascended the pulpit,
It is he, it is he, it is he that oppresses the city,
A vain babbler, with his harlots ”⁴

The opening couplet of that effusion, which even to quote is scurrility, is as follows:

“Alas, for Dihli and its holy shrines,
Alas, for the ruin of its palaces !”

This satire extends to nearly two hundred and fifty couplets. One of the learned men of that city, Shaiḳh Muḥammad Kambū⁵

¹ Kh'āja Tāhir Muḥammad, a Khurāsānī. He was a commander of a thousand. He was made Governor of Dihli in 1563-64, and died there in 1578.

² See Chapter II, No. VI.

³ This is another pun. The word for *gratis* is مفت (*muft*).

⁴ The second hemistichs of all these couplets, and the first hemistich of one of them, end in words to which absurd terminations, imitating the Arabic possessive pronouns, have been appended. The same remark applies to the opening couplet which follows.

⁵ A fellow clansman of the *muftī* who had been satirized.

bestow the same favour on the officials in Agra, who expect it of you!" I said, "Evidently he has seen nothing in the leading men of Agra which renders them worthy of this honour." Miẓān Kamālu-u-dīn laughed and said, "This is a false charge which you have brought against us."

XXV. TARDI, Rāda.

He is a native of Transoxiana and is a witty man. He was with Mirzāyān Ulugh Mirzā¹ at the time when the Mirzās captured the fort of Bahroc, and wrote the following quatrain on the event:—

- 201 "The Timurides are unequalled in valour,
Victory smiles on them whithersoever they turn,
When they took Bahroc by storm
'This chronogram was found for the event, 'They captured Bahroc.'"²

XXVI. TAUSANĪ.

His name is Manohar and he is the son of Lon Karan, Rājā of Sāmbhar,³ a famous salt tract. It may be that the "Attic salt" of his verses is the effect of his native land. He possesses wonderful personal beauty and extraordinary intellectual power. He was called at first "Muḥammad Manohar," and afterwards received the title of Mirzā Manohar. His father, in spite of his infidelity, used, by way of honouring and distinguishing him, to glory in calling him Muḥammad Manohar. Although he was not acceptable to the emperor he has poetic genius. These verses are his:—

"The Shaikh is boastful of his religion, the Brahman brags of his idolatry:

He who is intoxicated with the beauty of the Friend has naught to do with idolatry or religion."

¹ Akbar's distant cousin. He is distinguished by the honorific plural Mirzāyān, probably because he was the head of the House of Timūr.

² The chronogram (چشم بروج کردند) gives the date A.H. 980 = A.D. 72-73.

³ Sāmbhar, a famous salt lake in Rājputāna, in the borders of the Jodhpūr and Jaipūr States, lying between 26° 53' and 27° 1' N. and 74° 54' E.

Quatrain.

"Without the love of Thee the liver is filled to the brim with fire,
 Without the pain of longing for Thee the thorn is sunk deep in my brain;
 The idol-temple and the *Ka'bah*¹ alike mean naught to me but infidelity.
 My concern is only with the One-ness of God."

When they gave him his *takhalluṣ* (poetical name) he recited these few couplets:—

"O thou who sippest *sharbat*, visit the assembly of us who drink the lees!

For our livers supply us with roast-meat, and the wine-cup is filled with our heart's blood.

It is shameful for men to make mention of soul or heart in 202
 the case of love.

But our hearts are like congealed blood and our souls are like the bitter blast.

Tausanī,² give rein to the steed of desire in the field of love.

Thou shalt safely attain thy desire with Akbar for thy guide."

Since a Hindū³ had so much poetic genius and ecstatic feeling⁴ I have recorded these verses.

XXVII. TAZARVĪ OF ABHAR.

He was sister's son to Maulānā Nargisi, and, in accordance with the saying, "the true son resembles his maternal uncle," he was distinguished by his wit and the strength of his intellect. He

¹ The temple of Makkah.

² *Tavran* signifies a fiery steed. The appositeness of the metaphor in this verse is apparent.

³ The author's bigotry would not allow him to regard a Hindū who displayed poetic or religious fervour otherwise than as a freak of nature.

⁴ *حالت*. Both MSS. have *صالت* which is meaningless. The reading in the text is undoubtedly correct.

came from Turkey to India in the days of Bairam Khān's supremacy, and profited much by his generosity. He was captured in the battle fought beneath the mountains¹ by Ataga Khān, and was by him paraded before the emperor, as the chief of his gifts, with the banner of the eighth *Imām*, 'Alī-ur-Rizā² (may God accept him). He was very favourably received by the emperor. He composed his treatise on *Beauty and Yūsuf* for Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān,³ the son of Ataga Khān. The opening couplet of the poem is as follows:—

“In the name of Him to whom the face of foe and friend
Is turned, in which direction soever He may be.”

He composed some verses descriptive of the members of the beloved, among which are the following couplets:—

“Her face is a mirror, her neck is a shaft of ivory,
Those who are in face like the fairies desire that mirror:
The palm of her hand is, like the sun, a mirror of light,
The fingers of that houri are the rays of the sun
To the eye of understanding the parting of the hair of that
sweet-lipped maid
Is a meteor resplendent in the heart of the night.⁴
Nay, I erred in describing it as a meteor,
Rather is it a stream of fair water traversing a garden of
hyacinths.

¹ This was the battle fought in A.D. 1560 in the Jālandhar Dūāb between the imperial troops under the command of Shams-ud-dīn Muḥammad, Ataga Khān, and Bairām Khān, in which the latter was defeated. Vide vol. ii, text, p. 40.

² Bairām Khān, a Shī'ah, displayed the banners of the Imāms of the Shī'ahs before his troops.

³ Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān, the eldest son of Ataga Khān (Shams-ud-dīn Muḥammad), was the foster-brother of Akbar. He was only twelve years of age when he distinguished himself in this battle against Bairām Khān. Vide *Aīn-i-Akbarī*, trans. Blochmann, vol. i, p. 323. He died of excessive drinking in A.D. 1566, at the age of eighteen. Vide vol. ii, text, p. 84.

⁴ In this simile the poet compares the white parting with a meteor and the hair with the blackness of night, and in the simile in the following couplet he compares the former with a sparkling stream and the latter with a garden of dark hyacinths.

Desire fails¹ in its hope of reaching her navel.
 Remaining for ever in the pit of despair.
 Desire ever hovers round about her,
 Like the thirsty quarry round about the well.
 Above her nose is the palm-tree of our desire.
 Her arched eyebrows stained with dye.
 There grow, in spite of nature's rule,
 Two lily petals from a wild rose's sprig.
 In the eye of that light of my eyes
 There appears, as it were, a drop of dew on a rose
Cucurbita p. b. odum margaritae, thus intemperate,
Longer red it grows after dark.
 In grace she excels the lily bud.
 Tongue placed in palate and lip on lip."

He has written in reply to the *Dihwān* of 'Imād a-maghari in which the following couplets occur --

"From regret for thy moist-ruby lip
 And from separation from thy curled locks
 His (the lover's) weak body has dwindled to a hair.
 In his body there remains no place for his soul.
 From vexation and grief his heart is melted to blood.
 He drinks his own blood and draws no breath."

In a description of the morning he has written --

"The ashes of the morning have gone on the breeze.
 Fire has caught the cotton of the morning."²

Couplets.

"When my head droops on my knees in separation from that faithless one.

¹ The words are *عید بريد* 'hope is severed,' and there is a reference, which cannot be well reproduced in translation, to the cutting of the umbilical cord.

² Or "resplendent" "of fine water" The epithet is applicable alike to a jewel or to a moist lip

³ That is to say, the cool whiteness of the morning has been dispersed by the fierce rays of the sun.

My body is reduced to a heap of ashes by my burning heart."

"When her cruel sword is raised like a banner to slay me,
I make my complaint of her cruelty, my excuse for falling
at her feet;
For her sake I cheerfully endured the cruelty of the world,
not knowing
How little trust could be placed in her tenderness and
faith."

"In truth the quiltings of the patched woollen robe of
poverty
Bind upon the hands and feet of avarice the chains of con-
tentment."

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"Love's mendicant laughs at the ermine of royalty,
As he comes forth from love's furnace smeared with ashes."

"The dust of existence has gone on the breeze, but still from
moisture of tears
The feet of Thy humble lovers remain in the mire."

"The sword of thine eyelashes came as a boon to me when
I was beside myself,
When I came to myself I had a hundred wounds on my
soul."

By the emperor's order he wrote the following verses, descrip-
tive of an elephant:—

"From the dust of the road of the emperor whose throne is
the sky,
He scatters ambergris on himself by way of perfume.
The constellation of the Eagle appears on his head, without
exaggeration,
Like a ridge on the summit of the mountains of Caucasus:
When his body is encircled with its golden chain
The milky way and the heavens come into view.

infallible spiritual guide and by his means has been enabled to present to the *Khalifah* of the age an ode, the object of which was to ask the emperor why he did not devote himself to the overthrowing of the self-styled orthodox, so that truth might be confirmed in its central position and pure monotheism might be established. He also dedicated to *Shaikh* Abū-'l-Faḡl a treatise after manner of the *Nuqtawī* sect, and their manner¹ of writing the letters, all of which is hypocrisy and dissimulation² and comparison of the numbers of the letters, and Ḥakīm 'Ain-ul-Mulk discovered that the sum of the letters in the word *Tashbihī* was the same as in the word *Taẓrīqī*,³ "the hypocrite"; and the rest of his revelations may be estimated in the same manner. *Tashbihī* wrote a *divān*, and the following few verses are among his ravings:—

"For once, O dust of the graveyard, plume thyself on thy fertility,
For thou bearest in the tomb a corpse like me killed by thy hand and dagger."

"Wear those garments of whatever colour pleaseth thee,
For I recognize the majesty of that graceful form."

"The two hands of this world and of that world are naught,
The ring is in thy hand,⁴ both the ring and the hand are naught."

name *Nuqtawī*. Vide *Ain-i-Akbari*, trans. Blochmann, i, pp. 177, 452, 453 and Badā'uni, text, vol. ii, pp. 215—218.

¹ That is to say singly, and not in words as afterwards appears.

² *تَزْرِيق* a word coined by Badā'uni, who forms an Arabic verbal noun from the Persian word *زرق*. He also uses this word in vol. ii p. 217.

³ The numerical values of the letters in the two words are—

400 + 300 + 2 + 10 + 5 + 10 = 727; and

400 + 7 + 200 + 10 + 100 + 10 = 727.

⁴ Possibly a reference to the game of *hasa-lāzi*, in which one player has to guess in which of the other's hands a ring is hidden.

At the time when I was writing this hasty compilation he gave into my hand, in the presence of Shaiikh Abū-'l-Faẓl, a treatise on Maḥmūd of Basāḥḥwān, the preface of which was as follows:—

“O God! who art praiseworthy (*Maḥmūd*) in all Thy doings, I call upon Thee for help, on Thee of whom it is said, ‘There is no God but He.’ Praise be to God whose mercies are visible in all His works, who has shown the existence of all His works. From Him are their * *.¹ He knows Himself, but we do not know ourselves, nor Him. He is an existence not existing except through Himself, and a place of existence independent of others; and He is the most merciful. *Question*:—What is that which is 206 called ‘Nature’? *Answer*:—“That which is called ‘Nature’ is God.”

Dirt in his mouth, for daring to write such stuff! The point of all this lying is ‘the four *nugṭahs*.’ At the end of the treatise I saw, in his own writing, “This has been frequently written with reference to the Persian, the infallible religious guide, T, b, ā, r, ‘a, li. a, k, r, b, lt. aṣḥ, b, i, h, i, *Anarī*, *Ukhravī*, *Sāhib Maqām* (the representative).² And the rest was after the same fashion. We flee to God for refuge from such unbelief!

XXIX. TAQI-UD-DIN³ OF SHUṢHTAR.

He has recently entered the imperial service and is well versed both in those sciences which call for the exercise of the reasoning faculty and in traditional knowledge. He is well acquainted with poetry and has poetic genius. The following couplets are his:—

¹ One word is unintelligible in the text. The word is given as *موجودیم* with a variant *نیرویم*.

² The text seems to be corrupt. I have transliterated the letters and words appearing in the text and in MSS. (A) and (B). Mr. Blochmann (trans. *Ām-i-Īktarī*, i. 547 n.) makes the letters read “Mīr ‘Alī Akbar Tashbihī, the Amīnī, the last, the representative,” and his reading appears to be a good one, though it is not that of the text.

³ Otherwise known as Mullā Taqīrā. In the *Ta‘āqūt-i-Īkbarī* he is styled Taqī Muḥammad. He is represented as a disciple of Akbar’s “Divine Faith.” Vide *Ām-i-Īktarī* trans. Blochmann, i. 515.

"If I be not enabled to steal a glance at Thy face,
 I can at least fill my mouth with sweetness by thinking on
 Thy lip :
 If Thou hast planted me like a herb on the earth,
 Where shall I find the hand and the heart that will enable
 me to end my earthly pilgrimage ? "

He is at present employed, by the emperor's command, in turning the *Shāhnāma* into prose, or in other words in converting fine linen into sackcloth, or in unravelling a rope to make oakum.

XXX. ŠĀNĪ KHĀN¹ OF HERĀT.

He is one of the *amīrs* who have been long in the imperial service, and is well known for his ability, scientific knowledge, and wit. If anybody were praised to him for his learning and accomplishments he would at once say to him, "My love and friendship are conditional on this, that you pay no heed to what the base and vulgar say of me, for such people are a hindrance to
 207 friendship and a cause of strife." His verses are, as it were, disconnected fragments of chaff, but he has nevertheless completed a *divān*.

"O thou whose practice is to vex me, and whose rule of conduct is injustice !

I cry out against this injustice and against this rule."

Pass by this bitterness, for in this tardy world no one who ill-treats the poor prospers."

"A rival is on the road to salute thee,

O God ! Grant that he leave not the road with his life."

¹ He was born at Herāt and belonged to the Arlāt clan. According to the *Akbarnāma* (i. 379) Maulānā Šānī, 'who is now called Šānī Khān,' was in the service of Mīrzā Hindāl ; but after the Mīrzā's death (Nov. 20, 1551) he was received by Humāyūn into his service. He served in the wars with Khān Zamān. Vide *Āin-i-Akbarī*, trans. Blochmann, i. 476. According to the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* Šānī Khān was a low fellow who was originally a *qalandar* and eventually rose to be an *amīr*.

Quatrain.

"I have suffered from separation as even Jacob¹ never suffered,
 I have suffered for love what even Majnūn never suffered,
 This calamity which thine absence has brought upon me
 Was never dreamt of by Farhād nor heard of by Vāmiq."

His name is 'Alī Akbar and he has made the fact that he bears the same name as the emperor, an excuse for addressing to him treatises on heresy, in which, agreeably to the system of the *Nuqtawīs*,² he sets forth both the emperor and himself as that promised person who was to appear, in accordance with the numerical values of the letters composing the word *shakhṣ*,³ in the year H. 990,⁴ and he quotes the words of Maḥmūd in support of this view:—the curse of God be upon them all! He has versified the *Kāfiyyah*⁵ and a treatise on Ṣūfī-ism, in which occurs the following ridiculous couplet⁶ which is made to scan merely by filling in vowels:—

احر نجم يعر نجم احرنجاما مصدر

He has apparently, at the latter end of his life, repented of poetry.

XXXI. ṢANĀ'Ī⁷ OF MASĤHAD.

His name is Khwāja Ḥusain. Before he came to India the 208 great men of his country used secretly to assemble at social

¹ Scil. in his separation from Joseph. Majnūn, Farhād and Vāmiq were famous lovers.

² See the note on page—.

³ "A person." The numerical values of the letters are 300 + 600 + 90 = 990.

⁴ A.D. 1582.

⁵ *Āl kāfiyyat fī-n-naḥw* (liber sup̄iciens) by Shaiḫ Jamāl-ud-dīn Abī 'Umar 'Uthmān bin 'Umr, commonly known as Ibn-ul-Ḥājib. A famous work on Arabic Grammar, a full account of which, and its various commentaries, is given in Ḥājī Khalifah, 9707. The author died in A.H. 646 = A.D. 1248-49. Vide Badā'oni, vol. i. trans. Ranking, pp. 428 and 465 and notes.

⁶ Sic, but a hemistich only is quoted.

⁷ Ṣanā'ī was the son of Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn Muḥammad of Maṣḥhad. The

gatherings to consider and discuss even one couplet by him, and in each gathering his verses were read by way of good augury, and all agreed, both with tongue and pen, in his pre-eminence in poesy, and recorded their opinions. Since his arrival in India all his poetic fancy has been frozen by envy, and he is fallen into the corner of neglect and become the target for a hundred shafts of criticism, and wanders distracted in the way of the vulgar. His *divān* is well known and contains a good *maṣnavī*, although it is for the most part pointless, and its style is not comparable with that of his loftier odes. He has, however, a poetic nature, and in all subjects save unity, preaching, advice, and direction he has wonderful aptitude. I quote these few couplets as a memorial of him :—

“Such grace rains down from her from head to foot,
That one could sweep grace out of her bed.”

The idea expressed in this couplet, however, very closely resembles that in the couplet of the master-poet :

“She causes blandishments to spring from the ground, she
scatters grace in the air.

By means of her graceful gait and her sweet foot on the
earth.”

“If, for example, thou sittest¹ behind a mirror, a person
Standing before it sees his own image with the face
reversed.”²

author of the *Ātashkada-i-Azār* says of his poems, “either no one understands the meaning of his verses, or his verses have no meaning.” This criticism appears to be just. Ṣanāʿī, having offended *Shāh Ismāʿīl Ṣafavī II* by presenting to him an ode on his accession which contained no mention of his name, fled to India and was well received at court. He died at *Lāhor* in A.H. 1000 (A.D. 1591-92), *Abū-l-Faiṣ Faṣī*, Akbar's post-laureate, and brother of *Abū-l-Faṣl*, was Ṣanāʿī's pupil. Vide *Āin-i-Akbarī* i. trans. Blochmann, p. 549, n. 6, and p. 563.

¹ *جاگنی* MS. (A) has *چاگنی*, a meaningless word which has apparently helped to puzzle the editor of the text.

² Mr. Blochmann (*Āin-i-Akbarī* trans. i. 561) says of this passage, ‘This

‘ I shed so much grief abroad from my house
That the difficulties of my house are from without the
door.”

In describing an ambassador he says:—

“ Like the sun in the sky thou hast traversed the world,
Like sleep thou art welcome to all eyes. 209
The sun, perchance, is but a distillation from thy hand,
Which washes the whole world with one drop of water.
Such blackness has overspread that tribe whose fate is
dominated by Saturn that if, for example,
Each hair on their bodies became a candle,
The sight of man would not be able to distinguish their
faces.¹

The sound of their shoes would snatch Venus away from
life,
Their hideous voices reach not the understanding,
Their gait is like fire, their speech is like war,
The sight of them is punishment and their voice is a
brazen trumpet.
If a thought of them passes through the mind of the
wet-nurse
The child from fear desists from sucking.”²

“ O thou! from the splendour of the fair candle of whose
face the mirror is illumined,
From whose reflection the mirror seems to cherish a soul,
Place not the mirror before thee for the sake of seeing
thyself,
Reflect rather on my condition and look not in the glass.
Fire has burst into flame in my heart, like its reflection in
a mirror,

verse is unintelligible to me.’ I have translated it as it stands, but it seems
to have no meaning.

¹ The meaning of these verses is obscure.

² The author has, unfortunately, not said to whom these descriptive
verses apply.

Since the sunlight of thy face has been reflected in every mirror.

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If the burning blast of thy wrath should break into flame,
It will see its reflection in every mirror."

THE SONG OF THE CUPBEARER.

"Come, my heart, to the wine-shop of the people of the Secret,

Drink of the cup of truth which melts outward semblance;
So free thyself from the outward form

That thou mayst, like the fairy, become invisible to vulgar eyes.

Perchance the desire of that guide shall seize thee

So that thou mayst obtain a place in the street of the wine-shops.

Bring me,¹ cupbearer, that candle which lies in privacy,

Which is hidden, like the hand of Moses,² in his sleeve:

Give it into my hand and thus make my hand resplendent

That in its light I may stretch forth my hand to perform miracles.

Come, O cupbearer, and for the sake of the drunken debauchees

Stretch forth thy hand to shed the blood of the bottle.

Look to the circulation of the bottle and reckon³ not of punishment.

¹ Literally 'come.' See the author's criticism below.

² The reference is to Exodus iv, 6, 7, and to the *Qur'ān*, *Sūrah xxvii* 12.

وَادْخُلْ يَدَكَ فِي جَيْبِكَ تَخْرُجَ بَيْضًا مِمَّنْ فَيَرُّهُ فِي نَسِجِ آيَاتٍ إِلَى
فِرْعَوْنَ وَقَوْمِهِ

"Moreover, put thy hand into thy bosom; it shall come forth white without hurt: this shall be one among the nine signs unto Pharaoh and his people."

³ The text and MS. (B) have *مَهْرَس*, i.e. "inquire not," "have no anxiety for." MS. (A) has *مَهْرَس*, "fear not."

For in times of famine it becomes lawful to drink blood.
 Give me, O cupbearer, that amber of existence
 That by means of its attraction I may ascend
 And may pitch my tent above this lowly place,
 And, like ambition, may set my foot on whatever is !
 Bring me, O cupbearer, that warm-blooded wine
 Which increases love in my heart."

This "Song of the Cupbearer" clearly contains many vulgarisms, for everywhere he has used "come" in the sense of "bring," and he has reproduced the expressions used by masters of poetry on the same subject, forgetting that their expressions are used in brief fragments, of which the second couplet is dependent ¹ on the first.

In his ode on the sun the following couplet occurs :—

"The sun's reflection makes manifest in water the properties
 of oil
 When he makes of the dust of his worth a crown."²

He has written odes on sublime subjects, but in a mean style, and to him the proverb applies :—

"Their houses are lofty, their spirit is low,
 O Lord ! make these two things equal."³

XXXII. جُودَا'ی.⁴

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He is Mīr Sayyid 'Alī, the painter, a versatile man, each page of whose paintings is a masterpiece, and who may be described

¹ موقوف. The word is in neither MS., but has been correctly supplied in the text.

² This is a literal translation of the couplet, to which the criticism in the *Āṭashkādā-i-Āẓar* applies. The "crown of dust" is probably a reference to the sunbeam.

³ i.e., "either bring down their houses or raise their spirit."

⁴ Mīr Sayyid 'Alī of Tabriz, whose poetical name was Judā'ī, was more famous as a painter than as a poet. He is mentioned in the *Āin-i-Akbarī* (trans. Blochmann, i, 107), as the first of the court painters. Of him Abū-l-Faẓl says, "Among the forerunners on the high road of art I may mention first Mīr Sayyid 'Alī of Tabriz. He learned the art from his father. From

as a second Mānī¹ in India. The story of Amīr Ḥamzah in sixteen² volumes was illuminated and completed under his supervision. Each volume of it fills a box, and each page of it measures a yard wide by a yard long, and on each page is a picture.

He has completed a *divān*, in which the following verses occur:—

“As the morning broke the thorn boasted of its fellowship
with the rose
And thus pierced with its nail the broken heart of the
nightingale.”

“The beauty of idols is the Ka’bah to which I journey;
love is the desert by the way,
The railing of rivals³ is the acacia thorn of that desert.”

“From head to foot we are covered with swellings from the
wounds of love for thee,

the time of his introduction at court the ray of royal favour has shone upon him. He has made himself famous in his art and has met with much success.”

¹ Judā’i’s father was Mīr Maṣṣūr, and Judā’i himself had the title of Nādir-ul-Mulk. Badāonī does not mention the accusation of theft which has been brought against the poet. He is said to have stolen the poems of Mīr Aḡhī of Qam (*vide supra* no. XI). The number of his verses exceeded 10,000, and when on his death-bed he handed them over to Judā’i to arrange. Judā’i is said to have published in his own name whatever he thought good and to have thrown the remainder into water. Mullā Ṭarīqī of Sāva (*vide infra* no. LXXIX) has written an epigram on this subject:—

اشکبى نا مـراد را کشتـي عقل حيران خون خفيده اوست
بتو و ما نـد چـاردیـوانش شعرا و ماندگ تو کفته اوست

“Thou hast slain the disappointed Aḡhī, my mind is lost in wonderment at the concealment of thy crime. With thee remained four *divāns* of his and what remains of thy poems is his.” *Vide Āin-i-Akbarī*, trans., Blochmann, i, 598, n. 3.

² Twelve, according to the *Āin-i-Akbarī*. (Trans. Blochmann, i, 108).

³ The *Ātūshkada-ī-Āzarī* and Ṭarīqī’s *Tazkirah* mention another Judā’i, of Sāva.

We are the merchants of love and these wounds are our merchandise."

"I am a quarry half-slaughtered, fallen far from the street
of the Friend,
I stumble along on my way striving to see the face of the
Friend."

"I wished to describe my circumstances to that ill-natured
one.

She is ever in company with others. what shall I say to
her?

XXXIII. JAZBĪ.¹

His name is Pādshāh Qulī, and he is the son of Shāh Qulī
Khān Nāranjī.² He has a poetic³ turn of mind. The following
verses are excerpts from his works:—

"Such sweetness has the Beauty which knows no beginning
conferred on the lovely.

That love reaches a stage at which it gladly relinquishes 212
life."

"See the extent of my jealousy. From love's madness I
come to myself

If any one perceives that my speech is of the beloved."

"Thou art the unrestrained hunter and I am the (wounded)
quarry

Which the hunter, from excess of cruelty, neglects to kill."

¹ Vide *Āin-i-Akbarī*, trans. Blochmann, i. 450, 596.

² Abū-l-Faṭl says that Shāh Qulī was a Kurd from near Baghdād. He was an old servant of Humāyūn. In the first year of Akbar's reign he served under Khizr Khān in the Panjāb. He was much attached to Bairām. In the eleventh year he was sent to Garha when Mahdī Qāsim Khān had, without permission, left that province for Makkah. In the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* he is described as a commander of 1,000. Vide *Āin-i-Akbarī*, trans. Blochmann, i, 450.

³ The text has, incorrectly, بشر. Both MSS. have شعر which is correct.

"Thou art one who hast not experienced the delicious
 torment of the night of separation,
 Nor seen thyself shrinking from (the fierce delight of) the
 day of reunion.
 The thorn of reproach has not detained thy skirt,
 Thou hast not seen thyself with thy head drooping on thy
 breast like a bud.
 Never has thy love been constant,
 Thou hast not felt the sweet anguish of the beloved's
 neglect ;
 With no one hast thou held discourse of love,
 Thou hast a heart which has nothing to regret."

"My heart, at the sight of another in the arms of the be-
 loved, is like the bird
 Which the school-boy, from fear of the master, suddenly
 releases."
 "Now that, after an age, my eye falls on the ravisher of my
 heart
 The veil of shame falls between us, so that I cannot see
 her face."

"I am not one to tell my tale to a messenger,
 Or to base pretensions on what a messenger may say."

"From one glance of thine in the assembly of me and my
 friends
 What quarrels had we not among ourselves ? "

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His father, Shāh Qulī Khān, composed ¹ the following quat-
 rain :—

¹ In the *Āin-i-Akbarī* (trans. Blochmann, i, 596) this quatrain is ascribed
 to Jazbī himself.

" Sometimes I break my vow of repentance and sometimes
the wine-bottle,
Once, twice, incessantly I break my flute.
O Lord, deliver me from the evil promptings of my spirit !
How often shall I repent and again break my vow of
repentance ? "

Praised be God ! Even a clod has broken into flame.

One day after the return from the journey to Paṭua¹ Jazbi, Qāzī Shams-ud-din Qazvīnī, and some other poets, began to argue about a couplet of Ḥusain Ṣanā'ī's, viz. :—

" If, for example, thou sittest behind a mirror, a person
Standing before it sees his own image with the face
reversed." ²

When I drew near to them they asked me the meaning of the couplet which formed the subject of discussion. I replied, " Such is the state of things nowadays that it is impossible to draw any distinction between the poetry of one's friends and (the actions of) Titāl." ³ Now this Titāl, who lived in the days of Sultān Ḥusain Mīrẓā Darbarī,⁴ was a wag⁵ and a linguist, a man of disguises,⁶ who used to go into social assemblies and into colleges clad in the turban, the clothes, and the trappings of a learned man and accompanied by a body of pupils. He would first introduce his theses and discuss them in a very orderly manner, thus making himself attractive to all present. He would next introduce sophistries confused with meaningless arguments, until even the most learned doctors were thrown into perplexity.

¹ In October, 1574. Vide vol. ii, text, pp. 179—184.

² Vide p. 255 and note (2). Contemporary poets seem to have been as much puzzled over this verse as I am.

³ **تینال** usually signifies "deceit" or "flattery," but it is clear, from what follows, that the author is referring to a man so named, or nicknamed.

⁴ I do not understand this epithet. Sultān Ḥusain Mīrẓā was the king of **Khurāsān**, of the house of **Timūr**.

⁵ **مردی مضحکی**. The text wrongly omits the word **مردی**, which appears in both MSS.

⁶ **قلب** "who or what turns, changes, or reverses."

XXXIV. JAMİLĪ OF KĀLPĪ.

He is the son of Shaiḫh Jalāl, Wāṣil, who was the deputy of Shaiḫh Muḥammad Ghaṣṣ,¹ and took great delight in the ecstatic songs and dances of *darrishes*. Jamīlī, though he has very little of the ecstatic piety of his father, is yet not without a love of learning and poetic taste, although he has written some ridiculous² verses.

The following verses are extracted from his works :—

“Whenever I think on the rose of thy face,
Like the broken-hearted nightingale I utter lamentations.
If the joy of union with thee has never been my lot,
I can, at least, indulge my heart with grief for the want of
thee.”

“Since her ringlets have led me into love’s madness,
My distracted heart is bound in the bonds of that mad-
ness.”

He has written an ode in praise of Qāsim ‘Alī Khān, the corn-chandler, governor of Kālpī, in the course of which this couplet occurs :—

“To connect thee with the race of Khāns (nobles)
Is most revolting and most unfit.”

This couplet also is attributed to him, but God knows whether correctly or not :—

“The mouse of my heart, which I nourished with blood
drawn from my liver,
Has been suddenly seized by the cat of love,
Pierced by her teeth, and carried off.”³

His elder brother, Shaiḫh Fazīl, was a wonderful Arabic scholar, and has written some fine poetry in Arabic. The follow-

¹ Vide pp. 6—10.

² Or, perhaps, in a good sense, “comic” or “humorous.”

³ This couplet, and that which precedes it, raise a doubt as to what the author meant by attributing شعار مضحك to the poet. One of the couplets is witty and the other is ridiculous.

ing is the opening couplet of an ode which he wrote in answer to an ode by Mu'in-ud-din Tantarāni :—

O beautiful of face, my face, from days of old, has declined,
My soul has descended to the pit and tears have followed
like running water.

One day he recited this couplet, and as both he and his respected brother have very sallow complexions I said, "In this opening couplet you have evidently addressed your younger brother." This quip was very well received. The opening couplet of the original ode, which was answered, is :—

"O thou of easy circumstances, sure thou hast thrown my
affairs into confusion.

Thou hast disturbed my heart by thine absence and it is
in a decline owing to its palpitation." ¹

And Shaiikh Faḡl has written on Faḡlī's commentary ² an **215**
essay in Arabic, in prose and verse, which furnishes sufficient
proof of his great learning. At the present time both brothers
have set out from Lāhor for their native place. If, in the
course of following the object which they have in view, which
is a review of all the Imāms of India, they do not slay one
another utterly, it will be a wonder

XXXV. CISHṬI.³

He is Shaiikh Ḥusain the Ṣūfi, whose native place is Dihli,
and as he is a disciple of Shaiikh Salim Cishṭī ⁴ he has chosen

¹ This is the opening couplet of a *qasida* by Tantarāni.

² Probably the *Sawāḥir-i-Ilhām* ('rays of inspiration'). As Faḡlī has been careful, in this book, to use no words containing a dotted letter the work is probably more of interest as a feat of intellectual gymnastics than of value as a theological treatise. *File Jin-i-Akbari*, trans Blochmann, i, 519.

³ The *Talazāt-i-Akbari* contains the following notice of Cishṭī :—
"Shaiikh Cishṭī of Dihli, whose name was Ḥusain (probably a misreading for Ḥarain) was one of the disciples of Shaiikh Salim Cishṭī. He used to wear the garb of a Ṣūfi and passed his days in religious ecstasy.

⁴ Vide pp. 18—27. The text has "Shaiikh Islām," but "Salim" is correct.

this poetical name. He was one of the *Ṣūfī* members of the monastery at Fathpūr, otherwise known as Sikrī. He has composed a *divān* and is the author of several works, one of which is "The Book of the Heart and the Soul" written in verse, but in an Indian style, and since its purport is the same as that of the book "Beauty and the Heart," in which the master Mir 'Alī *Shīr*¹ has displayed his verbosity, it would be a pity to soil one's tongue with the mention of it.

Perhaps this opening couplet is the only one of several thousands of couplets written by *Cishtī* which is worthy of mention :—

"Such love has Qais² for the peacock's feather
That it would seem that he believes its eye to be the foot-
print of Lailā's camel."

XXXVI. JA'FAR.³

He is a Sayyid of *Hirāt* and has good taste in poetry and in the composition of enigmas. He was the chief paymaster of Ataga *Khān*⁴ and has written an ode and composed an enigma dedicated to Mirza 'Aziz Kūka,⁵ containing a list of his titles and prayers for his long life and prosperity. The following few couplets are selected from his poems :—

¹ Amir 'Alī *Shīr* was the *vazīr* of *Sulṭān Ḥusain Mirzā*, king of *Khurāsān*, of the house of *Timūr* (A.D. 1470—1505) and was the patron of the poet *Jāmi*. I have not seen a copy of his book, or of *Cishtī's*, but from the way in which the author speaks of them they were probably books on *Ṣūfī*-ism.

² Qais, usually known by his epithet of *Majnūn*, "the distracted by love," was the lover of *Lailā*.

³ This poet is not mentioned in the *Āin-i-Akbarī* nor in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*.

⁴ *Shams-ud-dīn Muḥammad Ataga* ('foster-father') *Khān* was the foster-father of *Akbar* and was a commander of five thousand. He was murdered by *Adham Khān*, May 16, 1562. Vide *Āin-i-Akbarī*, trans. Blochmann, i, 321.

⁵ *Mirzā 'Aziz Kūka*, *Khān-i-A'zam*, was the son of *Ataga Khān* and a commander of five thousand. Vide *Āin-i-Akbarī*, trans. Blochmann, i, 325—328.

"Now that the comb has disturbed those musky locks¹
Ah, that the wind would bear this message to thine ear!"

"I would not that the dust, even of musk, should settle on 216
that cheek,
God forbid that dust should have a place near thy heart."

"The place of herbage in the garden is beneath the foot of
the rose,
In the garden of thy beauty² herbage has settled on the
rose."

XXXVII. JA'FAR BEG.³

He is well known as Āṣaf Khān the Qazvinī, and is brother's son to Mirzā Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn 'Alī 'Āṣaf Khān, the late paymaster-in-chief. He is himself now one of the chief paymasters. So

¹ Literally "that musky chain." The reference is to the chain hung in the court of an oriental sovereign which petitioners for justice could shake and thus arouse the king and bring their grievances to his notice.

² حسنت, as in both MSS. The text has جنت "paradise" which does not suit the meaning of the verse. The reference is to the down on the cheek of the beloved.

³ Ja'far Beg was Mirzā Qirām-ud-dīn, son of Badī'uz-Zamān of Qazvin, who had been *vazir* of Kāshān during the reign of Shāh Tahmāsp and had presented his son at the Persian Court. He came to India in 1577 and was presented to Akbar by his uncle, Mirzā Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn 'Alī Āṣaf Khān. After his uncle's death he was appointed commander of two thousand, and received the title of Āṣaf Khān. He was appointed successively Thānadār of Sawād (Swāt), governor of Kashmīr, *dīvān-i-kul*, *Shūbadār* of Bihār and commander of three thousand. On Jahāngīr's accession he was appointed *atālīq* to Sulṭān Parvīz and, later, *Takīl* and commander of five thousand. He accompanied Parvīz to the Dakan as his *atālīq* and died there in A.H. 1021 (A.D. 1612) at the age of 63. He was a man of great genius, an able financier, a good accountant, a great horticulturist, and one of the best poets of his time. He was a free-thinker, and was one of the members of Akbar's "divine faith." *See Āin-i-Akbarī*, trans. Blochmann, i, 209, 411—413 *et passim*, *Tūzūk-i-Jahangīrī*, 108, 109 *et passim*, and the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*.

bitter is his resentment at having received no honour in the days in which his uncle was influential at court, that he continues to show it, and to attack his uncle even now that he is dead.¹ His poetic genius is greater than that of all his contemporaries, but is restricted by not being exercised, owing to his love of pleasure and ease and the great demands made upon his time by official business. He is also moderately fond of learning. Had he been a man of one occupation he would have enchanted the hearts of many of the poverty-stricken people of this time, which would probably have been worth to him forty *tīmāns* in cash.² (Whenever he made any considerable sum of money by his poetry he would squander it.)³

The following few couplets are some of his :—

“ My lives are cast to-day in the ways of injustice
For wherever the beloved sets her footholds fall.”

“ If, like the moth, I fly distractedly around thy caudle,
O obstinate one !
My presumptuous flight will at length land me in death.”

“ The roses of all are despoiled by the autumn,
But in my case both the rose-tree and the rose-garden are
gone.”

217 “ Thine affair, O Ja'far ! is fallen into the fire,
Two hundred songsters are here not worth one sala-
mander.”

“ At length the day of resurrection has come for the
reckoning of my sin.
O, tear up the record of the sins of the people.”

1 Lit. “ He fights and quarrels even with his spirit.”

2 Then equivalent to £120.

3 The passage in brackets is not in the text, but has been supplied from the MSS.

"Ja'far found the way to the street of his love,
Now he will hardly rise to his feet again."

"She came and distracted me, and remained not for so long
That I could make my heart acquainted with consolation."

XXXVIII. Haidarī of Tabriz.¹

He has performed the pilgrimage to Makkah. He was the pupil of Lisānī, and has written, in reply to the book *Sahw-ul-*

¹ In the *Zubagāt-i-Akbarī* it is said that Haidarī came three times from 'Irāq to India and, having profited much by the generosity of Akbar's Court, finally returned to 'Irāq. The following is the substance of Mr. Blochmann's note regarding him, on p. 603, of his translation of vol. i, of the *Āin-i-Akbarī* :—

Haidarī was three times in India. The first time he came he was young, and found a patron in Muḥammad Qāsim Khān of Nishāpūr. His company was more agreeable than his poems. The *Magnavī* which he wrote in imitation of Ṣa'dī's *Būstān* is insipid, and remained unknown. Though he made money in India he wrote a satirical quatrain on the country, the purport of which is that in a country in which two men can feast for a rupee the worth of the men is not difficult to guess. On his second return to India he found a patron in Mīrzā 'Azīz Kūka, Khān-i-A'zam, who gave him two thousand rupees for an ode. Shams-ud-dīn Muḥammad, Ataga Khān, introduced him at Court. For an ode on the elephant Akbar presented him with two thousand rupees and a horse. The third time he came to India he attached himself to Mīrzā 'Abdur-Rahīm, Khān-ikhānān, whom he accompanied on his expedition to Gujarāt, and received liberal presents for an ode on the victory of Sarkīe. He returned to Kāshān, the governor of which town, Agha Khizr Nāshuvandī, befriended him. As Tabriz had just been destroyed by the Turks of Rūm he settled in 'Irāq, at a place called in the MSS. کری which for its excellent climate and fruits had no equal in 'Irāq or Khurāsān. At about that time Shāh 'Abbās came to that place on a hawking expedition and, having been treated with discourtesy by a *darvīsh*, ordered a general massacre of the inhabitants, which was happily prevented by Haidarī's influence. Haidarī died at this place, beloved by all, in A H 1002 (A D. 1593-94). His son Sāmīrī came to India after his father's death, and was made by the Khān-ikhānān Mīr Sāmān of his household. He was also a good officer, and was killed during the wars in the Dukan, when with Shāhnavāz Khān, the son of his patron.

Lisān ('a slip of the tongue') by his fellow-pupil *Sharif* of Tabriz, the *Lisān-ul-Ghaib* ('a voice from heaven') in praise of *Lisānī*. He was for some time in India and then left and returned, and again went away in such sort that he cannot return again. I have seen his *divān*, containing about 14,000 couplets, but with very little good stuff¹ among all these. In an ode describing the imperial elephants he has written:—

"They were not mounds of driven sand—
His elephants, for they are in battle array;
And, for the purpose of engulfing his foes
They are, on every side, the billows of the ocean of calamity."

As meed for this ode the emperor ordered that a horse and a money reward should be given to him, but the treasurer delayed in carrying out the order, and *Haidarī* wrote this fragment:—

"I have a difficulty, O King! I wish to present to thee a petition.
My difficulty imprints on my heart a hundred brands of regret.
Thou didst command silver and gold to be given to me,
but from thy treasurer
It is hard to get, and yet harder not to get."²

Some of his verses:—

"No trust is to be placed in the love³ of the moon-faced
beauties of this world
A ray of the sun settles not long on one place.

"I burn ever with an inward fire, such it is.
I am contemned everywhere, such is my miserable lot.

¹ قماش I have translated literally.¹

² From the note on the preceding page it would seem that *Haidarī* at last received his reward.

³ This is a play upon words. The word مهر here used, means also "sun."

A fragment.

"Haidari! Strive, like the virtuous, to the utmost
To attain to some perfection in this world of sorrow;
For to go from this world deficient in anything
Is as though one were to leave the bath unclean."

XXXIX. HUZNĪ.¹

He was one of the learned men of 'Irāq. During the disturbances at Hirāt he left that perilous place to journey towards India, but before he reached his goal he set forth for the desert of non-existence. The following verses are his:—

"Laughter comes upon me when I think on the simplicity
of Huznī,
For he loves, and expects fidelity from his beloved.
The loved one, in her ignorance, rendered fruitless my
efforts on his behalf²;
And the strange thing is that he is all the more indebted
to me."

"I throw my *darvish's* robe on the fire that thou mayest
smell the odour of faith
From the patched garment, every thread of which is a
fire-worshipper's sacred thread."

XL. HAYĀTĪ OF GILĀN.³

He was a sympathetic friend, and excelled in all descriptions of poetry. He entered the imperial service on the recommenda-

¹ Thus described in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari*:—"Mir Huznī was one of the learned men of his time. He was travelling from 'Irāq to pay his respects to the emperor, when he died." In the *Āin-i-Akbari* (trans. Blochmann, i, 565) he is thus described, "He was an inquiring man of a philosophical turn of mind, and well acquainted with ancient poetry and chronology. He was free and easy and good hearted. Friendliness was stamped on his forehead. He is said to have been born in Junābud, and to have been a merchant. He was the pupil of Qāsim-i-Kāhī. (See no. II.)

² ز نادانی بر او کرد همدم کار من ضایع. The line as it stands does not scan. We should probably read کرد دوست for کرد

³ Thus described in the *Āin-i-Akbari* (i, 574). "A stream from the ocean

tion of Ḥakīm Abū-'l-Faṭḥ and grew up in that service. He has written a *dirān* and is well acquainted with the poetry of the ancients. Although he is entirely destitute of actual learning he is strenuous and has a sound understanding and a well-balanced mind.

The following verses are his :—

“ Watch thyself well in every word that thou utterest, 220
Repent of a speech which gladdens no heart.
What need hast thou of the wing of a bird ? If the men
of this age are employed in light talk
Borrow the foot of the ant, and flee.”

“ God doth not accustom my tongue to the uttering of complaints.

May He not associate me with complaints, especially of thee.”

Quatrain.

“ Ever hast thou treated me with harshness,—thou art excused :

Thou hast heard but the name of faithfulness,—thou art excused :

Thou sayest, ‘ I am falsely accused of harshness ’ ;

Thou hast not tried thyself,—thou art excused.”

Quatrain.

“ So long as thou art employed in the nurture of vain desires

Thine axe shall strike no stump but thine own foot.

of thought passes by his house ; correctness and equity are visible on his forehead. Serenity and truth are in him united ; he is free from the bad qualities of poets.” He is said to have been born at Rasht in Gīlān and to have belonged to the common people of that place. To better his circumstances he went to India, was introduced by Ḥakīm Abū-'l-Faṭḥ Gīlānī (see c. iii, no. VIII) at court, got a *jāgīr*, and was liked by Akbar. He joined the *Khānkhānān* in the wars in the Dakan and lived chiefly at Barhānpūr, where he built a villa and a *maṣjid* called after him. He was alive in A.D. 1615.

No enemy works thee such mischief as thou workest thyself,
Thy blood is on the head of thine own imagining."

"We have associated with unbelievers
But found among them no waist worthy of the sacred thread."¹

An ode.

"I desire a house of mourning that I may shut its door on myself
But my resolution has peopled it, and now I desire some desert spot.
The world is disturbed by stories of "to-morrow" and "yesterday,"
I desire some tale of the speech of my own grief.
From the fields of this world, the harvest of ox and ass,
I desire no harvest nor ear of corn nor even a grain.
I am content whether I be killed by the sword of the warrior of Islām or the arrow of the unbeliever,
I thirst for my own blood and all I require is a cup.
Ḥayātī, sit not before me, prevent not my ravings,
I am a lover and thou art wise, a demented companion is what I require."

XLI. ḤAYĀ'Ī.

He was in Gujarāt with Mirzā Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad.² The following verses are by him :—

"The message of the loved one re-opens the wound in my liver,
And renews the grief of farewells and the pain of the journey."

¹ زُتْرُ the sacred thread worn by Hindūs of the higher castes and by fire-worshippers.

² The author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, in which work Ḥayātī is not mentioned.

Quatrain.

"The lover pressed his cheek against thy door and went,
He displayed that love which he had for thee and went
One night, having obtained admission to the assembly
and union with thee by a thousand stratagems,
The moth opened his eyes to the candle, and went."

XLII. HĀLATĪ.¹

His name was Yādgār, and he claimed descent from the late Sultān Sanjar,² though in the *Tārīkh-i-Nizāmī*³ Mirzā Aḥmad says that he was a Caghatai. He was known for his sincerity and orthodoxy. He wrote a *dirān*. The following verses are his:—

"From weeping there remains not in my liver so much 222
moisture

That the bird of thine arrow could wet his bill therein."

"Would that I could be the string of thy shift
So that thou and I might be enclosed in one garment."⁴

"That line of dark musk on the page of thy cheek
Is a new revelation from on high."

"I constantly come behind the rival and cover his eyes in
sport,
That he may have no share in the joy of beholding my
beloved."

"The dark mole is placed by the corner of thine eye
Like a hunter sitting in ambush for his prey."

¹ Hālatī is thus briefly described in the *Āin-i-Akbarī* (trans. Blochmann, i. 595), "His name is Yādgār. He is a selfish man." In the *Zubāqāt-i-Akbarī* he is described as a soldier by profession.

² The fifth son of Fir Muḥammad Mirzā, grandson of Amīr Timūr.

³ This is the *Zubāqāt-i-Akbarī* by Mirzā Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad.

⁴ Cf. Tennyson's "The Miller's Daughter."

"Again am I weeping for the beauty of that rose,
To-day have I seen the rose, for I have again become the
nightingale."

"Thy ravishing lip has suffered much from fever spots,
Alas that thy rose-petal has been damaged by hail."

Hālati's father had the poetical name of Wālihi. This opening couplet is by him:—

"The moon of the 'Id has shown her eyebrow, and gladdened my heart,
Thanks be to God, who has freed me from this thirty days' grief."¹

His son, although he had the poetical name of Baqā'i, changed it to Rusvā'i ('the blackguard') on account of his unprofitableness. He met an early death, for having, by instructions from his mother, given his unfortunate father poison, for some fault that he had committed. He was sent, by the emperor's order, from Kashmir to Lāhor, where the *Kotwāl* executed him. He had some poetic genius, and wrote the following couplet:—

223 "While thy death-dealing glance is the despoiler of life
Death looks on from afar with regret."

XLIII. THE Khān-i-A'zam.²

He is Ataga Khān who, when the imperial army was defeated at Jausā,³ at the time when the king who had obtained forgive-

¹ The thirty days' fast of Ramazān, which comes to an end on the appearance of the new moon of Shawwāl, which ushers in the 'Id-ul-Fitr.

² Shams-ud-dīn Muḥammad Khān entered the service of Kāmrān Mirzā as a common soldier. For the service rendered in saving his life Humāyūn attached him to his service and subsequently, at Amarkot, appointed his wife wet-nurse (*anaga*) to the child Akbar, conferring on her the title of *Ji Ji anaga*. Shams-ud-dīn remained with the young prince while Humāyūn was in Persia, and received, after the emperor's restoration, the title of Ataga ('foster-father'), Khān. After Akbar's accession Ataga Khān was sent to Kābul to bring to India the empress-mother and the other *Begams*.

³ A village on the banks of the Ganges, where Humāyūn was defeated

ness,¹ the emperor Humāyūn, fell, like a crocodile, into the river Ganges, and the sun of dignity² nearly disappeared for ever in that boundless waste of waters, seized his hand and brought him from that whirlpool of calamity and from the deep waters of destruction to the shore of safety and security. This service led to his very great advancement.

Although his dignity is too great for him to be described as a poet or one given to poetry, still, as he had poetic genius the following verses by him are quoted :—

“My little tear, set not thy foot forth from the house of my eye.

For well-born children³ leave the house but seldom.”

“If the full moon in her glory should boast o’er the sun of thy face

She will at last sink down from the turquoise sky inverted.”

by Shēr Shāh. Vide vol. i, trans. Ranking, pp. 459 and n. 4 and 462 and n. 3. Badāonī is, however, mistaken here in saying that Ataga Khān’s service was rendered at the battle of Jausā. Humāyūn was saved after that battle by a water-carrier named, according to Firishṭa, Nizām, who is said by the same authority to have been allowed, as a reward, to occupy the throne for half a day. Ataga Khān saved Humāyūn after the battle of Qannauj. “The King rode off with the intention of going to the high ground. This action of his in itself afforded an excuse to his men to flee, and a serious defeat ensued. Moreover, the king, while crossing the river Ganges, became separated from his horse, and, by the help of Shams-ud-dīn Muḥammad of Ghaznī (who eventually became the foster-father of the prince’s most excellent majesty, and was honoured in Hindūstān with the title of A’zam Khān), escaped from the water and returned to Āgra.” Vide vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 464. Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad, in the *Tabaqāt* says, “He had the title of Khān-i-A’zam, and was the foster-father of his majesty. He attained to the grade of an *Amir* and *Takīl* of the empire and tasted the cup of martyrdom at the hands of Adham Khān.” (May 16 1562.)

¹ That is to say, deceased.

² MS. (B) has شان and if this reading be accepted the translation will be, “his sun nearly disappeared,” etc.

³ مردم زادها an obvious reference to چشم ‘the pupil of the eye.’

The following quatrain is by his son, Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān¹:—

“Those who walk self-satisfied in the street of desire are of
one sort,
The paupers of the valley of love of another.
Those who seek aught but the pleasure of the beloved
Differ widely from those who grieve with love.”

XLIV. KHANJAR BEG.²

He is one of the Caghatāi nobles and is related to Tardi Beg Khān,³ who has been already mentioned. He has written a
224 *maṣnavī* of three hundred couplets on his own condition and containing also the praise of the emperor. He is a versatile man, unequalled in the art of war, in calligraphy, in poetry, in the composition of enigmas, in general knowledge, in the use of the astrolabe, in astronomy, and in handling figures. He is also the author of several works, and he has enumerated his own excellences in the *maṣnavī* already mentioned. In the art of music he collected information regarding the systems of the Persians and

¹ MS. (A) styles him, wrongly, Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān. He was the oldest son of Ataga Khān and distinguished himself, when twelve years old, in the fight with Bairām Khān, and was made a Khān. When his father had been killed by Adham Khān Akbar took care of him and his younger brother, ‘Aziz Kūka. He distinguished himself during the several rebellions of the Khān Zamān. He died, of excessive drinking, in 1565-66, at the age of eighteen.

² Thus described in the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*:—“He is one of the old Caghatāi amīrs of this dynasty. He was an accomplished man and excelled specially in music. He had poetic genius and wrote a well-known *maṣnavī* on dancing girls.

³ A noble of Humāyūn’s court, who was faithless to his master but was forgiven after Humāyūn’s return from Persia. During the conquest of India Tardi Beg Khān distinguished himself and received Mewāt in *jāgir*. On Humāyūn’s death he rend the *khutbah* in Akbar’s name and sent the crown jewels to him in the Panjāb. He was appointed by Akbar a commander of five thousand and governor of Dihli. On Hemū’s approach he evacuated Dihli after some unsuccessful fighting and on this account was put to death by Bairām Khān in 1556.

the Indians and particularly regarding the six modes¹ of Hindū music, an undertaking which is impossible except to wealthy men of high rank and exalted position; and, indeed, there is now no trace of that information left in the land.

He had no equal in his time. These few couplets, written for the edification and instruction of the emperor, are excerpted from the *maṣnavī* already mentioned:—

“O King! The world is a wonderful place,
 Every moment it presents some fresh spectacle.
 The revolving sky, like a deceitful juggler,
 Begins every moment some new prank.
 From times of old there have been in the world
 Crowned kings, with armies and suites.
 Of those old heroes, with all their desires and ambitions,
 There remain time-worn histories, naught else.
 Had the prophets seen any hope of permanence in the world
 Why should they have fled from it?
 O King! the works of this world are all envy,
 Thus is it now, and was in the past, and ever will be:
 Among all these complicated affairs
 One's first object should be to acquire a good name, the rest
 is naught.
 The object of this long harangue of mine is to say
 What thou should'st do now that thy turn for sovereignty
 has arrived.
 In this age, in which the world is adorned by thy presence,
 May God be thy protector from harm!
 If the *humā*² has flown from this rose-garden
 Cast thou thy shadow on our heads.
 Since my words are without guile
 It is meet that I should offer thee counsel.

¹ رگ. The modes are *Bhairav*, *Mālar*, *Sārang*, *Hinḍol*, *Vasant*, *Dīpak*, and *Megh*.

² هُما A fabulous bird, supposed to fly constantly in the air without touching the ground, and looked upon as a bird of happy omen, prognosticating a crown to every one whom it overshadows.

Since I strive only for thy welfare,
 Why should I conceal from thee the words of truth?
 To all words, whether uttered by this one or that one,¹
 Give ear, if they touch the root of the matter.
 It behoves a king, both in season and out of season,
 To take heed to himself and to consider both the people
 and God.

225

The poor man's error leads only to the loss of his bread,
 The king's error is a calamity to the world.
 The beggar takes heed only for his gullet and his patched
 robe.

In the king's heart there must be thought for the people.
 Kingship is best exercised according to law,
 As the king's order is authenticated by his great seal.
 Since it is thy turn to exercise sovereignty,
 It is necessary for thee to exercise caution and prudence.
 Thou art as the candle, thy kingdom as the house,
 And thy people are around thee like moths.
 The mote in the sunbeam is not seen if the sun shines not,
 And where there is no candle there is no moth.
 That is to say, the livelihood of all is from thee,
 Thou art the shepherd, and thy people are the flock.
 The flock has come to thy pasture;
 How canst thou leave the flock to wander unrestrained?
 God has appointed thee their guardian,
 The shepherd's dignity belongs to His prophets;
 Neglect not then the practice of the prophets.
 But take heed to thyself and also to mankind.
 A happy life is a jewel. See that thou value it properly,
 And count as gain both wealth and dominion.
 Thou art a king with a prophet's attributes,
 Thou art in the world for a great work.
 Justice and equity, generosity, knowledge, liberality,
 Favour and grace, humanity kindness, and faithfulness.

¹ زهد يا عمر 'Zaid' or 'Amr,' proper names used by way of generalization.

What favour is this, and what sympathy,
 That thou hast towards us and towards thyself ?
 This valour of thine is beyond conception,
 This bravery is ever fresh in thee.
 Although these things are doubtless a merit,
 They are, nevertheless, a defect in a king
 While the king remains far removed from hurt,
 The people of his land are in safety :
 If a king never spares himself,
 The whole world is thrown into confusion. [presence ;
 We desire the world and our lives to be blessed with thy
 Without thee what are the world and our lives to us ?
Khanjar, beware of prolixity,
 And weary not the king's heart :
 This speech of thine has wandered from the point,
 And the king has no need of it :
 Since he is accepted before God
 His wealth consists in devotion to business.
 His very sleep is perfect wakefulness
 Even when he wanders, it is perfect wisdom.
 The right is with him who does his duty
 And thus becomes independent of all labour."

When he recited this *maṣnavī* he was honoured with various favours. He has also composed a *divān*, which is well known. The following verses are by him :—

"How often in her street shall my heart secretly heave sighs,
 And afterwards how often shall I lament that my life is
 leaving me?"

"The waters have passed over my head, and my life has gone
 on the breeze ;

227 My body has become dust ; yet still the fire of my heart
 breaks into flame."

At the time when the Khānzamān and Bahādur raised their heads as high as the star Capella in turbulence and rebellion¹

¹ 'Ali Qalī Khān received the title of Khānzamān after defeating and

Khanjar Beg was confederate with them, and fled into Bengal, and he has probably disappeared in consequence of those disorders.

XLV. KHUSRAVI.¹

He is sister's son to Mirzā Qāsim of Junābid.² He came to India after performing the pilgrimage to the Hijāz, and he is in the service of the emperor's eldest son.³ He is worthy of mention. The following verses are by him:—

“The heart of Khusravi is so inflamed with the light of love
That candles to light his tomb may be made of his bones.”

"The lions of the temple of Makkah will not pollute their claws with my blood,
Do thou, my companion, regale with this morsel the dogs of the monastery."¹

XLVI. MİR DAURĪ.²

His name is Sultān Bāyazīd, and his title *Kātib-ul-Mulk* ('scribe of the kingdom'). It is probable that nobody in Hindūstān has written the *nasta'liq* hand better than he, and he has reasonably good taste in poetry. At the end of his life he obtained grace to perform the pilgrimage of Islām. The following verses are by him:—

"At times thou art in my very soul, and at times in my afflicted heart,
Such is thy levity that thou canst not remain in one place."

An ode.

"Had I not been pampered by union with thee,
I had never suffered so much now from parting with thee.³
The bird of my heart is burnt like a moth. Ah me!
Would that I had never fluttered around that candle which illumines the night.
Had I not brought blood to my eyes with the arrow of her eyelashes,
I had never become a mark for her heart-piercing arrow."

A quatrain.

"Since my love has departed from my sight,
My heart's blood flows from my afflicted eyes.

¹ i.e. "Since Islām will have none of me hand me over to the Christians or the Zoroastrians."

² Called in the *Āin-i-Akbarī* (trans. Blochmann, i, 103), where he is mentioned only as a calligraphist, Maulānā Daurī. In the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* he is thus described, "Mīr Daurī, a calligraphist to whom the emperor gave the title of *Kātib-ul-Mulk*. He is the author of a *divān*." He was born at Hirāt.

³ Cf. 'Ae fond Kiss' by Burns.

She has gone from my sight but not gone from my heart.

Nay, surely this cannot be.

For that which goes from the sight goes from the heart."

One of the Mir's pupils in calligraphy, who was also one of the writer's companions, was Khwāja Ibrāhīm Husain the *Aḥadī*¹ (may God have mercy on him!), who was a well-born man of the city of Balḥ;² and closely related to Shaiḥ 'Abd-ur Raḥmān the Balḥī of Lāhor, who was, in his time, famed throughout the world as a religious leader and a follower of the saints. Khwāja Ibrāhīm Husain in the flower of his youth left this world of deceit for the abode of joy, to the infinite regret of his friends; and the writer suffered in one year, and within the space of a few days, the grief of losing him and the grief of losing Mirzā Nizām-ud-din Aḥmad;³ and these griefs renewed my regret for the loss of my old friends—a regret which grows stronger every day.

¹ The *Aḥadīs* were a sect of pious men corresponding to the 'Gentlemen of the Life-guard' in the days of Charles II and James VII. Most of the clerks in the imperial offices and the foremen in Akbar's workshops belonged to this corps. According to Allā-Ḥusain they were called *Aḥadīs* because they were *ah* 'for a harmonious unity,' whatever meaning was attached by Akbar's phrase-makers to that cryptic utterance. They provided their own horses and were thus what we call *rich-lites*, and men were frequently selected for command from this corps of *Aḥadīs*. Vide *Alī-i-Akbari*, trans. Blackmore, i, p. 100. Akbar was so prejudiced against the Arabic language, as being the sacred tongue of Islām, that he condescended to tamper with the spelling of words, even his line letters that were peculiar to Arabic. *أحدي* thus became *أهدي* in official records.

² In north-western Afghanistan.

³ The author of the *Ta'ẓīl-i-Akbari* and intimate friend of the author. Pādshāh (vol. ii, text 797) says, "He passed away from this faithless world at the age of 45 of a hectic fever, and carried nothing with him but a good name. Many of his friends and companions who had had experience of his courtesy, entertained great hopes of him, but none more than this worthless one, closely bound to him by a community of faith and friendship, entirely disinterested so far as worldly matters were concerned. We shed tears of grief and beat our breasts with the stone of despair, but saw at length no remedy but patience and resignation which are the quality of the holy and the practice of the pious. Regarding this calamity as the greatest of misfortunes and disasters, I took it greatly to heart, and henceforth let my heart

Alas, I see no remedy for my pain!
 I had some hope of union:—that is gone
 All my concerns are languishing, because
 I see that the promise of my friends is unfulfilled.

Alas! Misfortunes have crowded so thickly upon me that I have scarcely the strength left to bewail them. But what cause is there for bewailing, since we are all beneath one dome and have but to pass behind the veil to meet once more?

The following chronogram was composed on Khwāja Ibrāhīm Husain's death:—

229 "In accordance with the command of the Ruler of the universe,

In the month of Šafar, Khwāja Ibrāhīm Husain
 Journeyed from this world of wickedness and dishonour,
 And the date of his death was found in the words,
 'Khwāja Ibrāhīm Husain.'"¹

XLVII. DAKHLI.²

He has recently come from Irāq and has been appointed and go out no more in friendship to any person, resigning myself to the corner of obscurity."

¹ The sum of the letters is:—600+6+1+3+5+1+2+200+1+5+10+40+8+60+10+50=997 (A. D. 1599).

² In the *Āin-i-Akbarī* (trans. Blochmann, i, 608) Dakhli 'of Iṣfahān' is thus described, "He is a man without selfishness and of a reserved character. Though he says but little he is a man of worth." Mr. Blochmann discovered the following facts about Dakhli. His name was Malik Ahmad, and he was the son of Malik-ul-Mulūk Maṣṣūd 'Alī, proprietor of Verkopāi, twelve *farsakhs* from Iṣfahān. His mother's father was the great *Shāikh* Abū-l-Qāsim, who had such influence with Tahmāsp that several legacies in Persia belonging to Makkah were transferred to him, and of other foundations he was appointed *Mutawallī*. He thus grew rich, and obtained so great a following that people persuaded Tahmāsp that he was bent on rebellion or heresy. He was therefore blinded, and afterwards lived a retired life. He addressed to Tahmāsp a poem which procured him a pension. In his retirement Dakhli was employed to arrange his poems and thus acquired a taste for poetry, and received from his grandfather the *takhaluṣ* of Dakhli. After attending on his maternal uncle for some time Dakhli went to Iṣfahān, where

Aḥadī,¹ and before he attained this dignity he wrote the following quatrain on *Sharif-i-Sarmadī*² the roster-keeper, inspector of the *Aḥadīs*, who has an enormous moustache:—

“This simpleton will at length become an *Aḥadī*,
And will be asking for the felt cap³
In the depth of his perplexity he will, a hundred times a
day,
Become a sacrifice for Sarmadī's moustache.”

XLVIII. DĀNĪH.⁴

Dānīh is a village in the district of Nishāpūr,⁵ where he passed a life of humble contentment in tilling the soil. Suddenly the seed of wandering was sown in his heart and he conceived a desire to visit India and gained no advantage from his husbandry. He has written most of his poetry in his own rustic dialect, but has also composed many odes in more polished language. He gave up the use of his own rustic dialect when he found that it could not be understood by the generality of people. One day a poet with the *takhalluṣ* of Ulfatī was playing polo, when his stick flew from his hand and struck him on the nose. Dānīh wrote the following epigram on the circumstance:—

“So much bad verse did Ulfatī recite
That all the libertines were delighted with him.
His polo stick by ill chance broke
The bridge of his nose instead of his teeth.”⁶

They say that Qilij Khān⁷ was the subject of this epigram.

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he acquired some reputation as a poet. He came to India in A.D. 1589 and was for five years in Akbar's service. In 1594-95 he went to the Dakan and found a patron in the Khān Khānān, in whose service he was in 1616. He was a good soldier.

¹ Vide p. 317, n. 1.

² Vide no. LXII.

³ Worn by the *Aḥadīs*.

⁴ Dānīhī is not mentioned in the *Āin-i-Akbarī* nor in the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*.

⁵ Or Nishābūr, the well-known town in Khurāsān.

⁶ i.e., that he might recite no more poetry.

⁷ Vide no. XV.

XLIX. DAVĀ'Ī.

He is Ḥakīm 'Ain-ul-Mulk.¹ He traces his descent on the mother's side to that most learned man Maulānā Jalāl-ud-dīn Davvānī.² He is distinguished by his gracious manners and excellent qualities, and in the treatment of ophthalmia his equal has not been seen. Occasionally he occupies himself by writing poetry, and the following are some of his verses :—

An ode.

"It is not only hail that rains down from the cloud of grief
on me in my misery.
But stones that rain down upon me in the form of calamities.
So violent towards lovers is that capricious and cruel charmer,
That even in the course of familiarity warfare gleams in her eye.
Davā'ī, it is infidelity to despair at the door of her favour,
For rain from the cloud of her generosity covers leagues."

"Each night my lamentations, sighs, and weeping reach the sky.
O Lord ! What shall one whose days are as dark as mine
do with such nights as these ?"

An ode.

"No waste spot is to be seen which cannot be peopled.
The incurable pain of love is that here no plans avail.
In the night of her dark locks the sleep of death fell upon me,
A wonderful and confused dream not to be interpreted.
Ah, what a glance was that to slay a lover, and where is the stage on the journey of love
In which is to be found a breast unpierced by an arrow ?"

¹ Vide c. iii, no. IV.

² A renowned logician, known as Muḥaqqiq-i-Davvānī.

"Each one who has tasted a drop of the wine of love
Has become more wearied than before, and broken both 231
cup and wine-jar."

"Awake, my heart, for the beloved is enraged.
And life has become hard for lovers.
For lovers, on the way of devotion,
Every step is a hundred thousand leagues.
The spacious arsenal of love
Is all too narrow for the army of my affection.
The arm of my ambition is long enough,
But what shall I do? For my good fortune is lame.
Davā'i beware, for in the street of the beloved
Strife is hot and love is in disguise."

"Bright are those eyes which know how to see,
Happy is that heart which knows how to palpitate.
How shall the torment of this narrow cage
Be endured by the bird of my soul, which has learnt how
to soar?
Never remains in the corner of my eye
That little tear which has learnt how to run down my
cheek.
There is not to be found elsewhere in a house
A wild creature which has learnt how to flee.
Davā'i no longer has any desire for heaven.
Since he has learnt how to pluck the rose of thy garden."

"On the day of separation, which is the moment when (the
heart) burns,
The soul's employ is to fan the flame.
In the night of separation, when hope of life must be 232
foregone,
The heart's employ is to heap up pain and grief.
Ah separation, such a calamity art thou that ever
Hell is in flames for fear of thee! ~

From the two magicians, coquetry and blandishment,
 The drunkard may learn quarrelsomeness.
 Davā'i, the longing for association with the fair,
 Is an attempt to unite flame and cotton."

L. RAFI'I.¹

He is Mir Ḥaidar of Kāshān, the composer of enigmas. His understanding is excellent and he has correct taste. He is unrivalled in the art of composing enigmas and chronograms,²—

¹ Mr. Blochmann in note 3 on p. 593 of his translation of the *Āin-i Akbarī* says, "His full name, according to Taqī-i-Auḥadī is Amīr Rafī'ud-dīn Ḥaidar. He was a Ṭabāṭabā Sanyid of Kāshān. The *Ma'āṣir-i-Raḥīmī* states that he left Persia in 999 (A.D. 1590-91) on account of some wrong which he had suffered from the King of Persia, went from Gujarāt in company with *Khwāja* Ḥabībullah to Lāhor, and was well received by Akbar." After a stay of a few years in India he returned to his country and in the shipwreck mentioned below lost property to the value of two lakhs of rupees. Rafī'i was saved and returned to India, where his losses created much sympathy, and he received, at Akbar's wish, valuable presents from the Amīrs. After some time he again returned to his country, his two sojourns in India having lasted about eight lunar years. He went to Makkah and Mudīnah, where he stayed four years. In A.D. 1604 he returned to Kāshān, found favour with Shāh 'Abbās, and received some rent-free lands in his native town. According to the *Atashkade-i-Azārī* he died in A.H. 1082 (A.D. 1622-23). He had a son, Mir Hāsham-i-Sanjār, mentioned as a poet in the *Āin* (trans. i, 595).

Rafī'i is thus described in the *Āin*, "His name is Ḥaidar. He is well acquainted with the art of poetry, and is distinguished as a writer of riddles and chronograms." The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* contains the following notice of him, "Mir Ḥaidar, the writer of enigmas, had the poetical name of Rafī'i. His understanding is excellent and he has correct taste, and is unrivalled in the art of composing enigmas and chronograms. He spent his time in the emperor's service."

² One of Rafī'i's feats in this way was the discovery that the numerical values of the letters of the *Sūrat-ul-Iklāf*, the 112th chapter of the *Qur'ān*, gave the date of the completion of Faiẓi's *Sawāḥir-ul-Ilhām*, the commentary on the *Qur'ān* composed entirely of letters without dots. The chapter, which is also called *Sūrat-ut-Tauḥīd*, runs as follows:—

قُلْ هُوَ اللَّهُ أَحَدٌ. اللَّهُ الصَّمَدُ. لَمْ يَلِدْ وَلَمْ يُولَدْ. لَمْ يَكُنْ لَهُ كُفُوًا أَحَدٌ

indeed, he does not even know that there are any arts but these two. One day Shāikh Faizī told him that the art of composing enigmas had gone out of fashion in Hindūstān and that the practice of it was considered unworthy. He replied, "I have toiled for years in my own country in the study of enigmas, and now that I have grown old in this pursuit, how can I give it up?" He came with Khwāja Habibullāh from Gujarāt to Lāhor and received a fixed allowance from the emperor's privy purse and from courtiers. He embarked, in a ship and set sail for his native land, but, when he had passed Hurmuz and was nearing Kij and Makrān, his ship was wrecked and all that he had was lost, among the rest several parts of Shāikh Faizī's pointless commentary on the *Qaṣ'ida*, letters of introduction from learned men, and Faizī's *diḥẓā*, a copy of which he was sending abroad 233 in order to increase his reputation.

The following verses are by Rafi'ī —

"I have a tender heart, my sprightly love, what remedy
is there for me?"

I am a lover with the nature of one beloved, what can
I do?"

— — —

"I was jealous of Rafi'ī's coffin, for thou

Didst accompany it weeping more bitterly than the
mourners."

A quatrain.

"The devotee sins not, for Thou art the Avenger,

We are steeped in sin, for Thou art the Pardoner;

and the sum of the letters gives the date A.H. 972 (= A.D. 1564-65). Mr. Blochmann in note 2 on p. 519 of his translation of vol. i of the *Ḥin-i-Aḥḥādī* makes the date A.H. 1002 (= A.D. 1593-94) but this is an error. For this fortunate discovery Rafi'ī received 10,000 rupees from Faizī.

¹ Badizad's geography is here at fault. Rafi'ī could not have reached Hurmuz (Ormuz) which is an island in the Persian Gulf opposite to Gombroon or Bandar-i-'Abbās, until he had passed beyond the coast of Makrān. Kij is an island town of Makrān.

² That is to say the commentary composed of undotted letters. See note (1) above.

He calls Thee the Avenger, and we the Pardoner,
O Lord ! say which name 'Thou preferrest."

And he has a quatrain which contains twenty-six chronograms.¹

LI. RAHĀ'Ī.²

He is descended from Shaiikh Zain-ud-din of Khavāf,³ and he has composed a famous *dirān*. The following verses are his :—

" O love, thou didst encourage me to hope for thy favour,
And didst then repulse my hope on every side."

" I travelled in order to ease my heart of its grief,
How was I to know that a hundred mountains of grief
would confront me on my way ? "

" The secrets which I have with that rose are as buds formed
of my heart's blood ;
To tell the heart's secrets to all is hard indeed."

¹ This quatrain has not been quoted, and is not mentioned either in the *Āin* or in the *Ṭabaqāt*.

² Vide *Āin-i-Akbarī*, trans. Blochmann, i, 592, and note 1. It is there said of Rahāī that " he pretended to be a Ṣūfī." His name was Maulānā Sa'd-ud-dīn of Khavāf or Khāf.

³ Zain-ud-dīn Khāfī or Khavāfī, from whom Rahāī traced his descent, was a famous saint who died in the beginning of Shawwāl, A.H. 838 (May A.D. 1435). He was buried first at Mālin (or Bālin), then at Darvīshābād, then at Hirāt. His biography is given in Jāmī's *Nafhāt-ul-Uns*, and he is not to be confounded with the saint Zain-ud-dīn Tāibādī

Khāf or Khavāf is a district and town in Khurāsān, which belonged to the revenue district of Nishābūr, and was famous for the kings, ministers, and learned men which it produced. The town was also famous for the fact that its inhabitants were bigoted Sunnis, and were persecuted by Shāh 'Abbās of Persia. Its inhabitants are now Shī'ahs. The number of Khavāfīs in the service of the Mughal emperors was considerable. The one whose name is best known is Muḥammad Hāsham, known as Khāfī or Khavāfī Khān, author of the *Muntaḥab-ul-Lubāb*, a valuable historical work in three volumes,

"Pass not from my eyes like tears, my dear,
Be more humane and pass not thus by men." ¹

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"In the heat of thy wrath thou throwest me into the fire,
And then coquettishly warmest thy hands at the fire."

"I have so devoted myself to thankfulness for that small
mouth and that eyebrow like the new moon
That nobody now calls me to mind."

"I have suffered cruelty not only at the hands of that
faithless and capricious girl
But at the hands of all from whom I hoped for faithful-
ness."

"Thou, my friend, dost not know all the grief of my heart,
Nor all that I have suffered at the hands of that cruel
moon-faced beauty."

III RAUGHANI²

He was an impudent jack-pudding whose jesting passed all bounds. He was for many years in the service of the emperor. He has written a *diwan* containing nearly three thousand couplets. This is one of his couplets:—

"The martyr who suffers death by the sword of his injustice
enjoys life eternal.

Perhaps the master-armourer who tempered the sword
used the water of life."

The idea contained in this couplet closely resembles that in the couplet of Mir Ashki,³ already quoted, namely:—

¹ It is difficult in translation to preserve the pun on *مردمی* ('humanity,' 'urbanity') and *مردم* ('a human being').

² Raughani is not mentioned in the *Min*. In the *Tabaqāt* he is thus described, "He was for many years in the emperor's service. He had a bitter tongue as a lampooner."

³ Vide *supra* no. XI.

"Those slain by thy cruelty lie scattered here and there
like drunken men ;
It would seem that thy sword was tempered with wine
instead of water."

The following verses are also by Raughanī :—

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"I weep not for her cruelty, for I fear that my rival
Might guess from my weeping whose cruelty was its
cause."

"My burning heart in her hands and beneath her feet is
like a live coal,
Which a boy in sport takes up and quickly flings away."

"Thy dignity so plants upon the mountains the foot of
clemency
That fountains of water flow from each vein of it."

"O messenger! Give her by word of mouth an account of
my condition,¹ for in my letter
There are many words which have flowed from my pen
while I was beside myself."

"The messenger gives me news of her coming
In order that the force of my desire for her may draw me
to the road by which she is to pass."

In the year H. 980 (A.D. 1572), when the imperial army was
marching towards Gujarāt,² Raughanī died beneath the fort of
Ābūgarh³ and was buried there Qāsim Arsalān⁴ made the
following chronogram on his death :—

¹ Or, 'my desire' if the variant شوقم be accepted.

² When Akbar was marching to the conquest of Gujarāt, which was
annexed to the empire at the end of 1572. *Vide* vol. ii, text, pp. 139—
149.

³ Mount Ābū in Rājputāna, now a well-known sanatorium.

⁴ *Vide supra*, p. 251.

"Like a dog he delivered up his soul to the abode of infidelity."¹

LIII. ZAIN KHÂN KOKA.²

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In playing Hindû music, beating the drum, and other accomplishments of that sort he is unrivalled in this age. Although he cannot be said to have any other accomplishments, save calligraphy and transcription, yet he sometimes composes a couplet. The following is one of his couplets:—

"This world, which moves crookedly, gives me no rest,
Until I have threaded my needle with the thread of my desire."

LIV. SULTÂN OF SAPLAK.³

Saplak is a village in the Qandahâr district. The vulgar in India call him Siplaki (Sipkali) with a *karr* to the *bâ*, which

¹ The numerical values of the letters, added together, give 951, or one year in excess of the correct date.

² Zain Khân was the son of Khwāja Maqūd 'Alī, a servant of Akbar's mother and Pīr Jīn Argha, one of Akbar's nurses. As he was thus Akbar's foster-brother, he was called Koka. The daughter of Khwāja Havan (Zain Khân's paternal uncle) married Sultân Salīm (Jahāngīr) and was the mother of Sultân Parvīz. In A.D. 1595-96 Sultân Salīm married Zain Khân's daughter. Zain Khân was employed against the Afghāns in the campaign in which Bīr Bar fell. In 1586 he operated successfully against the Mahmands and Ghōrs near Pothāwar, and in 1587 was appointed governor of Zabulistān. In 1588 he moved against the Yūsufzais, and, after eight months' fighting, subdued them. In 1589 he was employed against rebellious *Zamīndārs* in the Himālayas, and subdued them. In 1599 he was made a commander of four thousand and in 1595-96 a commander of five thousand. He died in 1601-02, partly from excessive drinking. *Vide Jin-i-Munawwar* trans Blochmann, i, 344. In the *Tabaqāt* he is given a title, apparently a *talhātūg*, which I cannot understand. It reads *Al-Fatāḥā*. The text of the Lakhnau edition of the *Tabaqāt* is very corrupt.

³ I have not been able to find the village 'Saplak' and therefore cannot be sure that the vowels in this are correct. MSS. (A) and (B) read سیکلی 'Sapkali' or Sipkali, and this reading agrees better than that in the text with the Indian nickname given to the poet. *Vide infra*.

means 'a lizard,'¹ and this greatly offended him, and he used to say, "What can I do, though they call me by the name of such a dirty carrion creature?" He was a devotee girt as to the loins and unfettered by conventions. On the day on which he saw Mullā Qāsim Kāhī² he asked him his age. Qāsim replied, "I am two years younger than God." Sultān said, "My dear sir, I took you to be two years older. I fear you are deducting from your years." Mullā Qāsim laughed and said, "You are worthy to associate with us." It may be noted that as Mullā Qāsim Kāhī was a great plagiarist he probably borrowed this speech from Shaikh Bāyazīd of Bustām³ who said, "I am younger than my Lord by two years." This is one of the ravings of the *Ṣūfis*, and some men of God have interpreted it to mean, "I am younger than God (may He be honoured and glorified!) by two years, i.e. in two qualities, that is to say self-existence and omnipotence"; for a creature may display all divine attributes and qualities except these two; for the brand of accidental existence and dependence can never be removed from the forehead of a created being. I ask forgiveness of God for this nonsense and these ravings!

Sultān had a disposition well attuned to poetry. When he saw the Khānzamān,⁴ who also used Sultān as a poetical name, and presented to him an ode in his praise, the Khānzamān sent him, as a reward for it, a thousand rupees and a robe of honour, 237 together with a request that he would, for his sake, change his poetical name. He sent back the gift and said, "Sultān Muḥammad is my name, which was given to me by my father. How can I give it up? Moreover, I wrote poetry under this

¹ کپالی I cannot discover this word, but its meaning is clear. *Kasr* is the short vowel *i*, but Badāonī is wrong in attaching it to the *bā* or *pā*. He should have attached it to the *sin*. The vulgar apparently called the poet either *Sipkali* or *Siplaki*. چپکلی (*Chipkali*) is the Hindūstānī word for the common house-lizard, which lives on flies and insects. سپک (*Siplak*) is a Dakanī corruption of the same word.

² Vide no. II.

³ Vide p. 7 and note 1.

⁴ Vide the next biography.

name many years before you did, and obtained much fame by it." The Khānzamān said, "If you do not give up the name I will throw you under the feet of an elephant," and being enraged, he had an elephant brought to the spot. Sultān said "Ah, what good fortune is mine, that I shall attain martyrdom!" After the Khānzamān had threatened and intimidated him for a long time, Maulānā 'Alā-ud-dīn Lārī,¹ the Khānzamān's tutor, suggested that an ode should be selected from the *dirān* of the reverend Maulavi Jūmi,² (may God hallow his tomb!) which was at hand, and that if Sultān could answer it extemporaneously he should be pardoned, but if not the Khānzamān should do with him as he had proposed. From the *dirān* of the reverend master (may his tomb be hallowed!) this ode was selected:—

The writing of God's creation knew the writing on thy
heart,
And knew the invisible proofs of kingship on the heads
of beardless boys.

Sultān Muhammad recited an extemporary ode, the opening couplet of which is:—

"Whoever has regarded his heart as the shell containing
the pearl of God's secret
Has rightly appraised his own jewel."

Although this ode was no great matter the Khānzamān was exceedingly pleased and praised it, and, having given the poet twice the reward which he had given before, dismissed him with honour. But Sultān could no longer stay in that place, and without the Khānzamān's leave he came thence to Badāon, and afterwards travelled through the country, and went to the

¹ Vide *Ain-i-Albari* trans. Blochmann, i, 540. According to the *Ain* he was learned in philosophy and theology. He came from Lāristān, and is hence called *Lārī*. He was the son of Maulānā Kamāl-ud-dīn Ḥusain, and studied under Maulānā Jalāl Dawwānī Shātrī. He was for some time Akbar's teacher. Once at a *darbār* he placed himself before the Khān-i-A'ram, when the Mīr Tūzak told him to go back. "Why should not a learned man stand in front of fools," said he, and left the hall, and never came again. He got 4000 *bighas* as *suyurgah* in Sambhal, where he died.

² The celebrated Persian poet, who died in A.D. 1493-94.

Dakan. In the year in which the four kings of the Dakan formed a confederacy and after a great battle in a stricken field 238 conquered Vijayanagar,¹ and destroyed that famous idol-temple, which was a veritable mine of misbelief, Sultān Muḥammad was with their army and acquired great store of plunder, and returned, but no further information regarding him is to be had. It was, indeed, the height of discourtesy on his part to enter into a dispute with his betters and to refuse the request, so courteously made by a man like the Khānzamān, that he would change his poetical name.

In reply to the following opening couplet by Ghazālī,² viz.—

“Devotee, true knowledge of God lies not in the patched robe, the rosary, and the tooth-stick,³

Acquire mystical love, for these other things have nothing to do with the comprehension of God,”

he wrote,

“Though the dust of envy has settled on my rival’s heart I have no fear,

This is clear to me, that the mirror of his heart is not clean.”

¹ The great Hindu empire of the Carnatic. The four Kings were ‘Ali ‘Adil Shāh I of Bijāpūr, Ḥusain Nizām Shāh I of Aḥmadnagar, Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh of Gulkanda, and ‘Ali Barid Shāh of Bidar. The allied armies of these kings met Sadāshivarāya, Rājā of Vijayanagar, and his brothers Timma and Venkatādri, on the field of Talikota on January 23, 1565, and, in one of the most decisive battles ever fought in India, utterly overthrew the Hindu empire of the south which had for two centuries withstood the attacks of the independent Muḥammadan Kings of the Dakan, first the Bahmanīs and afterwards the lesser dynasties of Bijāpūr, Gulkanda, Aḥmadnagar, Bidar, and Berār. Vide ‘Historic Landmarks of the Decan,’ by Major T. W. Haig, pp. 129—132. Badāonī, like all Muḥammadan writers, styles Vijayanagar ‘Bijānagar.’

² Vide p. 239, no. I.

³ A twig of a tree used as a substitute for a tooth-brush. It is about a span long, split at one end and chewed to render it softer. The twig is used only once and is then thrown away. The European manner of using one tooth-brush repeatedly until it is worn out is regarded with disgust in the east.

The following are other verses by him :—

"My love sits sometimes in my eyes and sometimes in my heart,
She rests nowhere, she must be bewitched."

"How can I liken thy eyebrow to the new moon, for I
Have seen the new moon in every hair of thy eyebrow ?"

LV. SHĪZĀN.¹

This is the poetical name of the Khānzamān. As the events of his life are well known, not only from this selection, but from every history of Hindūstān, any further account of him would be merely a repetition. He wrote these verses :—

"Slender as a hair is thy waist,
No wider than the end of that hair is thy mouth."

When he published abroad the ode which begins thus, many of 239 the poets of that province² wrote odes to compete with it. One began as follows :—

"I said, 'Thy mouth is no more substantial than an idea,'
She said, 'The idea that thou hast formed is correct.'"

I composed the following :—

"Thy mouth is the fountain of Khizr,³
Thy tongue is a fish in that fountain."

In these days I prefer to repent sincerely of such poetry and versification, which I published freely in the days of my ignorance, but which now appear to me to be a vain accomplishment.

¹ Vide p. 182, n. 2, where a brief account of the career of 'Alī Qalī Khān, Khānzamān, is given. He rendered most important services in the early years of Akbar's reign and Mr. Blochmann justly says, "Next to Bairām the restoration of the Mughal dynasty may be justly ascribed to him." The disaffection displayed by him in his later days may perhaps be ascribed to mental derangement. His infatuation for Shāham Beg and its consequences seem to have been the beginning of this derangement, and his successes in the field seem to have converted it into what may be called *megalomania*.

² Jaunpūr.

³ The guardian of the water of life.

The following verses are by the Khānzamān :—

“Cease, my heart, from weeping and wailing continually
like a bell,
Make, my heart, to none complaint of the cruelty of thy
love.”

“O breeze, in the court of my love, in that language which
thou knowest
Make my supplication before her, as thou canst.”

“I have a charmer whose face is like the rose, and like
hyacinths her hair,
Her rippling locks of hyacinth fall over rose-petals.”

“My love, the darling of no other is like thee,
No other lover is distracted like me.”

“O infidel boy,¹ we drink no cup at thy hands
We are drunk from another cup, with the wine of
‘Am I not your Lord?’”²

¹ منجه 'the magian boy,' a favourite simile for a handsome cupbearer.

² اَلَسْتُ. The reference is to the *Qur'ān*, *Sūrah vii*, 168.

وَإِذَا أَخَذَ رَبُّكَ مِنْ بَنِي آدَمَ مِنْ ظُهُورِهِمْ ذُرِّيَّتَهُمْ وَأَشْهَدَهُمْ عَلَى أَنْفُسِهِمْ
أَلَسْتُ بِرَبِّكُمْ قَالُوا بَلَى شَهِدْنَا

“And when thy Lord drew forth their posterity from the loins of the sons of Adam, and took them to witness against themselves, saying, ‘Am I not your Lord?’ They answered, ‘Yea: we do bear witness.’” The commentators tell us that God stroked Adam’s back, and extracted from his loins his whole posterity, which should come into the world until the resurrection, one generation after another; that those men were actually assembled all together in the shape of small ants, which were endued with understanding; and that after they had, in the presence of the angels, confessed their dependence on God, they were again caused to return into the loins of their great ancestor.

The Khānzamān's brother, Bahādur Khān,¹ also had some poetic genius, and wrote an ode, which is reproduced below on 240 the theme of that ode of Mullā Āsifi's which begins:—

"The night of grief has much embittered my lot.

Where is the morning? For rust has settled on my mirror."

Bahādur Khān's ode.²

"The wanton, cruel charmer has taken a stone in his hand,
As though he would attack me, the weary one.

My moon faced darling sits on the throne of beauty,

He is a king, seated on his throne.

Without thee, Bahādur, they will not cease from their
wailing and their wine-bibbing

For they have taken from thee the flute of grief."

In accordance with the saying, "the words of kings are the kings of words" this appears to be a sufficiency of the poetry of these two.³

¹ Muhammad Sa'id Shāibānī, Bahādur Khān, younger brother of 'Alī Qulī Khān, Khānzamān. After Humāyūn's return from Persia he planned a rebellion, which failed. He was pardoned by Akbar and received Multān as *jāgīr*. He assisted in the conquest of Māliwa, and was subsequently governor of Itāwa. He took an active part in the several rebellions of his elder brother. After his capture Shāibānī Khān Kamīl killed him by Akbar's order.

² The text here has, wrongly, الحال المومنين 'compets'. The whole ode is quoted. The MSS wrongly divide the compets of the ode, as though they were isolated compets from odes.

³ It is not easy to decide here whether Balīfōnī is serious or ironical in his quotation of the proverb. It is evident that he had some admiration for the Khānzamān, as he has blamed Saifī of Samarkand for not acceding to the Khānzamān's most unreasonable request. On the other hand Bahādur Khān's ode appears to refer to Shāibānī Beg,—"my King" as the Khānzamān used to call him,—and it is possible that the proverb is a slight reference to the title given by the Khānzamān to Shāibānī Beg in his infatuation. Balīfōnī repented of his own serious lapse from morality, and became one of the 'unforgotten,' and it is, perhaps, in virtuous indignation that he says that he has had enough of the poetry of "these two" *and*, the Khānzamān and his brother.

LVI. SAIRĪ.¹

He was a *qāṣī*² and a theologian of cheerful disposition. He came to India and died, having acquired honour by performing the pilgrimage of Islām. In prosody, and rhyming, and the composition of enigmas he was unrivalled. The following quatrain is by him:—

“Sairī, take up thy abode in the sanctuary of the soul and the heart,

Withdraw thy sight from this form compounded of water and earth;

Everything, save the knowledge of God, is naught,

Forsake everything, and acquire this knowledge.”

These verses also are by him:—

“She does not close that narcissus-like eye on account of ophthalmia,

241 She shuts the door of mercy on grief-stricken lovers.”

“Preacher, miscall me not for my devotion to my idol,
For God's sake torment me no more.”

LVII. SIPHRĪ.³

He is Mīrzā Beg, brother's son to Khwāja Amīnā,⁴ who was known as Khwāja Jahān. He has written a *divān*. The following verses are the fruit of his brilliant intellect:—

¹ Sairī is mentioned neither in the *Āin* nor in the *Ṭabaqāt*.

² A judge, civil, criminal and ecclesiastic.

³ He is not mentioned in the *Ṭabaqāt*. Mr. Blochmann says (trans. *Āin-i-Akbarī*, i, 424) that his *takhalluṣ* was Shahrī. This is a mistake, as the third *complet* given below shows.

⁴ Khwāja Amīn-ud-dīn Maḥmūd of Hirāt, Khwāja Jahān, an excellent accountant and a distinguished calligraphist. He accompanied Humāyūn in his flight to Persia and, on Humāyūn's return, was made *baḡhī* to Akbar. He received his title, and the rank of commander of one thousand, on Akbar's accession. He was accused of want of loyalty during the rebellion of the *Khānzamān*, and was dismissed to Makkah. On his return he was pardoned. He died near Lakhnau in Nov. 1574 from the result of an accident which occurred to him when he was convalescent from sickness.

"Soften with a smile the poison of thy angry eye.
As bitter almonds are made sweet by the addition of salt."

"My wandering heart passed by the street of calamity,
It is strange that my heart wandered without thee.¹ Its
action was strange."

"Sipihri, take, like the tulip, a cup in the king's round,²
Now that the heart has blossomed and the rose-garden
smells sweet."

"The king of exalted rank, Humāyūn, the dust of whose door
In dignity far exceeds the heavens."

LVIII. SAYYĀFI.³

He was a servant of Bairam Khān.⁴ and the Khān sent by his hand a sum of seven thousand rupees as an offering to the shrine of his holiness the Imām Rizā⁵ (on whom be blessings and praise!). Having spent all this money he was there called to account by Shāh Tahmāsp and in the year H. 974 (A.D. 1566-67) was released from torture, by death). These couplets are by him:—

"When my fallow countenance appeared in the mirror,
The mirror, from the reflection of my face, became an
autumn leaf."

"My narrow breast, in which lodges grief for the absence of
my love,
May yet be so situated that joy will leave in it no room for
my soul."

¹ بي تو as in MS. (A). The text has مي تو which does not make sense. This couplet and the one preceding it are transposed in both MSS.

² دور 'a round of the wine-cup.'

³ He is mentioned neither in the *Ain* nor in the *Tabaqāt*. MSS. (A) and (B) give his *talhālū* as Siyāqī.

⁴ Khānkhānān. Tutor to Akbar and regent of the empire during his minority. He was a Shī'ah.

⁵ The eighth imām of the Shī'ahs, whose shrine is at Mashhad.

LIX. SAHMI.¹

He chose his poetical name from the profession of his father, who was an arrow-maker. He grew up in the service of Mirzā Aziz Kūka² and, since he has been addicted to poetry from the age of ten, he has become thoroughly versed in it, and is famous throughout the world. In reply to that ode by Ummidi the mystic,³ which begins,

“Thou art the king of the kingdom of beauty,
We are beggars enjoying the spectacle,”

he was one day reciting an ode of his own before the court. When he came to the hemistich,

“I am a pure *Sunnī* and come from Bukhārā,”

Lashkar Khān,⁴ the paymaster in chief, who was a *Khurāsānī* suspected of heresy, though he did not openly profess it,⁵ said, “Then, Mullā, there is also such a thing as an impure *Sunnī*?” Mirzā ‘Aziz Kūka said on the spur of the moment, “You, for example.”

Qāsim Arsalān has the following quatrain referring to Sahmī.

¹ Sahmī is not mentioned in the *Āin* nor in the *Ṭabaqāt*.

² *Khān-i-A‘ẓam*, son of Ataga *Khān* and Jī Jī Anaga, and foster-brother of Akbar.

³ Or, ‘of Rai.’

⁴ Muḥammad Ḥusain of *Khurāsān*. He was for some time Mīr Bakhshī and Mīr ‘Arṣ but was dismissed. One day he came drunk to court and challenged the courtiers to fight him. Akbar punished him by tying him to the tail of a horse and imprisoned him. He was subsequently released and attached to the Mun‘im *Khān*’s corps in Bengal. In the battle of Takarōi (March 3, 1575) he was severely wounded. His wounds began to heal but he did not take sufficient care of his health and died, a few days after the battle in Uṛīsa. *Vide Āin-i-Akbarī*, trans. Blochmann, i, 407.

⁵ Whenever *Shī‘ahs* are in the minority they practise, if necessary, *taqiyyah*, (تقية ‘fear,’ ‘caution,’ or ‘pious subterfuge’), i.e. they act as though they were *Sunnīs*. A *Shī‘ah* may even vilify his own sect, if his personal safety require it. *Vide Āin-i-Akbarī*, trans. Blochmann, i, 338, n. 2. Badāonī relates with evident glee this snub administered to a suspected *Shī‘ah*.

"Sahmī, Tarīqī,¹ and Faridūn² are thieves,
 They are thieves like the cat, the jackal, and the monkey,
 Take care not to recite your poetry before them
 For these two or three poets will steal the lines from you."

The following are some lines from Sahmī's ode written in answer to one by³ Ummīdī :—

"The thought of thy mole has ever had its place in my heart, 243
 I did not mention this scar to thee, but it remained on my heart.
 I sowed the seed of hope in the field of love,
 But obtained no crop save a crop of despair,
 When thou sawest in the mirror the reflection of thy cruel face
 The mirror melted before it from shame."

"This is not the new moon that has risen to the highest point of the heavens,
 It is a sword hung in the air for the purpose of slaying me."⁴

"The new moon of the 'Id was likened to the arch of her eyebrow.

¹ The text has 'Zarifi.' I follow MS. (A) as Qāsim Arsalān was evidently speaking of poets at Akbar's court. *Vide infra*, no. LXXIX.

² No Faridūn is mentioned as a poet in the *Āin*, or the *Tubaqāt*, or in this work. Qāsim Arsalān may have been referring to Faridūn *Khān*, maternal uncle to Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, or more probably to Mīrzā Faridūn Barlās, a commander of five hundred, son of Muḥammad Qalī *Khān* Barlās. Mīrzā Faridūn Barlās served in Sind and, in A.D. 1592-93, accompanied Jānī Beg to court. Under Jahāngīr he was rapidly promoted, and held, in the eighth year, a command of two thousand, when he served under Salṭān *Khurram* against Rānā Amar Singh. He died during the expedition. *Vide Āin-i-Akbarī*, trans. Blochmann, i, 342, 478 and *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, 125, 133.

³ Not the ode quoted above.

⁴ "A sonnet to his mistress' eyebrow."

If the simile were just there would be ever another¹ new moon at her side."

"Her mouth is like the end of a hair in its delicate proportions, but see

How the sword of her tongue in speech splits the hair."²

244 "Thou camest before me in order to vex my wounded heart,
What evil have I done that thou hast thus come before me?"

LX. SAQQĀ.³

His name was Bahrām. He was a devotee who believed that he had attained the stage of annihilation.⁴ He was one of the disciples of Shaikh Hājī Muḥammad Khabūshānī (may his tomb be hallowed!), and was in some measure mysteriously attracted towards God.⁵ He constantly traversed the streets of Āgra with a few pupils, giving water to the people of God, and while he was thus employed his tongue would be uttering refreshing verses. One of the sons of his religious guide came to India, and to him he gave all that he possessed, and would have given more, had it been possible, and he then set forth on foot,

¹ i.e. the poet himself, who is wasted by love to the similitude of a new moon.

² The Persian metaphor is the same as the English. The *double entendre* refers to the opening of the mouth in speech.

³ This poet's name is not given in the text, nor in the MSS., though the first sentence is so framed as to lead us to expect a mention of his name. I have supplied it from the *Āin-i-Ākbarī*. In the *Āin* (trans. Blochmann, i, 581, and n. 1) he is thus described, "Darvīsh Bahrām. He is of Turkish extraction, and belongs to the Bayāt tribe. The prophet Khizr appeared to him, and a divine light filled him. He renounced the world and became a water-carrier." The Bayāt tribe is a Turkish tribe scattered over Āzarbāijān, Irvān, ʿIhrān, Fārs, and Nishābūr. Bahrām is worshipped as a saint. His mausoleum is in Bardwān in Bengal.

⁴ This *Sūfi*-istic term indicates selflessness, or the annihilation of self, the will being entirely delivered over into God's keeping.

⁵ خالی از جذب نبود. For the technical meaning of the words جذب and جذب vide p. 7, n. 4.

alone and destitute, for Sarandīb,¹ and on the way to Ceylon the torrent of annihilation swept away the chattels of his existence, and in that infidel land some person, guided by a sign from the prophet (the blessing and peace of God be upon him!) appeared, no one knew whence, and arranged for the obsequies of Saqqā, (may God water his grave!).

He collected several *dir'ns* of his own poems, and whenever he was overcome by religious ecstasy he would wash the ink from the pages of the *dir'ns*, one by one, but the remains of his poems form a large *dir'in*. The following verses are part of the outcome of his clear and sparkling intellect: —

“I am thrown into bewilderment each time I regard the mole
on His cheek.

I distractedly encompass that spot like the leg of a pair of
compasses tracing a circle around its centre.

I, distraught as I am, have withdrawn my gaze from fair
creatures for this reason

That I have in the nest of my heart a Friend of my soul
like Thee.”

“I have broken the foundations of austerity that I might
see what would come to pass,

I have sat in the market-place of ignominy, that I might
see what would come to pass.”

“I see my poor mad heart distracted with the love of Thy
face,

I see it encompassed on every side with the chains of Thy
locks.”

“This day from weeping am I plunged in my heart's blood,
Ah, heart! cause not my head to burst this day with
weeping.”

¹ Ceylon. The word used immediately afterwards is سیلان (*Silān*), referring to the same place. The latter word is used in order to pun with میل (*sail*) ‘a flood,’ ‘a torrent.’ The account of Saqqā's obsequies may

"The love of that beloved one with garments like the rose
has again grasped me by the collar,
Ah, now, at last, it has rent my garment from collar to
skirt."¹

LXI. SIPĀHĪ.²

245 He was the grandson of the famous Khwāja Kalān Beg.³
This quatrain is by him.

"Alas, that the season of the rose has passed so quickly,
Alas, that it has passed in the twinkling of an eye!
Without thy eyes and the down on thy cheek the violet
and the hyacinth
Pass their days in blindness and in mourning."⁴

He died in Āgra in the year H. 978 (A.D. 1570-71).

LXII. SARMADĪ OF IṢFAHĀN.⁵

His name is Sharīf. He was for some time a roster-keeper,
and now holds some appointment in Bengal under Sharīf Āmalī.

be accepted with a grain of salt. As Saqqā's tomb is in Bardwān he probably died in Bengal on his way to Ceylon.

¹ These verses are all mystical. The Beloved, in each case, is God, who is spoken of, after the fashion of the Sūfīs, as though He were a human object of love. The couplet beginning "I have broken the foundations" probably means that the poet, having apprehended the esoteric meaning of divine love, has ceased to follow the ceremonial observances of Islām, and has thus rendered himself obnoxious to the formally pious.

² This poet is mentioned neither in the *Āin*, nor in the *Ṭabaqāt*.

³ The Governor of Qandahār under Mirzā Kāmran. The Shāh of Persia captured Qandahār from him.

⁴ کبودی 'blue-ness,' applicable both to the violet and to the hyacinth. Blue, like black, is the colour of mourning. It may, perhaps, also signify blindness, with reference to the bluish film which forms in cases of cataract.

⁵ Muḥammad Sharīf. Sarmadī, was a commander of two hundred. He was sent to Bengal with Sharīf Āmalī in A.D. 1591-92 and in the following year was fighting in Uṛsā against Rām Chandra, Rājā of Khurda. He is said to have died in the Dakan. In the *Āin* (i. 607) he is thus described, "His name is Sharīf. He possesses some knowledge, is upright, and zealous in the performance of his duties. His rhyme is excellent. He understands arithmetic." The *Ṭabaqāt* has, 'Sharīf-i-Sarmadī is an

“Since in contempt I set my foot upon both worlds
 Neither joy nor sorrow has had any power over my
 heart.”

LXIII. SĀQĪ OF THE JAZĀ'IR.¹

He is an 'Arab, and his father Shaikh Ibrāhīm was a learned theologian whom the Shi'ahs, after their mode of belief, regarded as an infallible religious guide. He settled in Mashhad, and Sāqī was born there. Sāqī has acquired some learning, and is 246 of a cheerful disposition and eloquent. He came from the Dakan to Hindūstān, and is now in Bengal. The following verses are by him :—

Iṣfahānī, and is one of the servants of this court.' He was apparently a Shi'ah, for Badā'oni (text, ii. 335) thus abuses him, 'Sharīf Sarmadī,' the roster-keeper, regarding whom somebody has said :—

“There are two roster-keepers, both of them vile,

One is anything but previous and the other anything but noble.”

The two epithets in the second hemistich refer to the names of the two men, the second referring to Sharīf.

¹ Thus described in the *Āin* (i. 593), ‘He belongs to the Arabians of the Jazā'ir. He has acquired some knowledge.’ الْجَزَائِر (Al-jazā'ir) ‘the islands’ is the Arabic form of Algiers, but the term here probably refers to the islands of the Persian Gulf.

He is of a cheerful disposition and is pleasant in conversation and is to some extent imbued with religious mysticism. He is the disciple of Shaikh Salim Cishti. He was for some time in the emperor's service, but it was his fate to leave it, and he has 247 since spent his time in the service of various *Amirs*. He is now in Kābul with Qilij Muḥammad Khān. I quote the following few couplets of his:—

"I am in the first pangs of love, and my heart is disquieted,
Like a child who trembles as he wakes from sleep."

"Since that stately cypress-like beauty made for herself a
necklace of roses,
I envy the roses, and the roses envy her shift."

"From my strayed heart the breeze obtained no news of
what had happened.
Although thy two locks spread their tresses to the wind."¹

"Reverence forbids me to set foot in my house,
Since the whole house has been filled with the effulgence
of thy face."

"I utter not a word of the secrets of thy favours and thy
chiding,
No sound arises from him who has been killed in sub-
mission to thee."

"Although there remains to nobody in the reign of the
king of the world
Anything but a draught of water and a patched garment,
Yet thanks a hundredfold are due to God that poverty
has become universal,
That there remains no envy among the people."

¹ "Although thy locks were careless in keeping their secret my heart did not betray it."

"I wrote an ode in thy honour, lord of generosity,
Which was a faithful index of the volume of thy virtues
and perfections,
But the generosity which thou showedst to me in return
for it was so slight,
That my hope of benefiting by thy wealth was destroyed.
Thy generosity was not an equivalent for my poetry,
Keep, then, thy generosity, and return my poetry."

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"God forbid that I should have a heart that never ex-
periences pain,
An arrow is better in the breast than a dead heart."

LXV. SHĀH ABŪ-'L-MA'ĀLĪ.¹

He has been mentioned in the historical record of the reign. He was a man of cheerful disposition and had good taste in poetry. I reproduce these few couplets of his:—

¹ Shāh Abū-'l-Ma'ālī was one of Humāyūn's *Amīrs* and did valuable service on Humāyūn's return from Persia. He was of the family of the Khvājas of Kāshghar. He is not mentioned among Akbar's *Amīrs* either in the *Āin* or in the *Tabaqāt*. For an account of his murder of Shīr 'Alī Beg vide vol. ii (text pp. 9 et seq.) Early in Akbar's reign he was imprisoned in Lāhor but escaped, and, having persuaded Kamāl Khān the Gakkhar to join him in a futile invasion of Kashmir, escaped to Dīpālpūr. Here he was discovered and was sent to Gujrat en route to Makkah. In Gujrat he committed another murder and fled and joined the Khānzamān, who delivered him to Akbar. He was then imprisoned in Biyāna but was released by Bairām Khān when the latter fled from court. He left Bairām and joined Akbar, but having treated the emperor with disrespect, was sent off to Makkah. On his return he rebelled and then fled to Narnaul and thence to Kābul. Here he persuaded Cūcak Begum, mother of Muḥammad Ḥākīm Mirzā, to give him her daughter in marriage. He next, in the course of an attempt to seize on the supreme power in Kābul, murdered Cūcak Begum. Muḥammad Qāsim Kūhbar, Muḥammad Ḥākīm Mirzā's *vakīl*, then fled to Sulaimān Mirzā in Badakhshān, who marched to attack Shāh 'Abū-'l-Ma'ālī. Muḥammad Ḥākīm Mirzā left Shāh Abū-'l-Ma'ālī and joined Sulaimān. Sulaimān eventually captured Shāh Abū-'l-Ma'ālī and sent him to Muḥammad Ḥākīm, by whose orders he was strangled. (May 10, 1563).

"My soul, to keep company with strangers is not good,
 It is not good to associate with every beloved one and to
 leave one friendless.
 It is pleasant sometimes to torment a lover, but kindness
 is also pleasant sometimes,
 To sit ever on the throne of scorn is not good,
 Sit in the corner of separation, happy in the hope of
 reunion
 To despair of the good fortune of seeing¹ the beloved one
 again is not good."

"Beloved, I have been alone, and separated from thee.
 I have been, for a purpose, a prisoner in the bonds of
 separation.
 In every place have I read the story of thy love so often
 That on this account I am become a by-word in the
 world."

"My heart suffers grief of a thousand descriptions on her
 account,
 If my grief kills me not what other boon shall I obtain
 from her?"

LXVI. *SHĪRĪ:*

He comes from a village called Kokūwāl² in the Panjāb. 249
 His father belongs to the Mājis,³ a large and well-known tribe,
 and he used to say that his mother was a Sayyid by race. Al-
 though he is not of noble blood he has a disposition sufficiently
 noble, and leads a well-regulated life. He studied under his
 father, Maulānā Yahyā, who wrote an ode with this opening
 couplet:—

¹ *ḡayy*. As in the MSS. The text has *ḡayy* which is not so good a reading.

² He is thus described in the *Īin* (i, 610). 'He belongs to a Panjābī family of *Shāikh*. Under the patronage of his majesty he has become a good poet.' He translated the *Haribans* into Persian. He seems to have been orthodox, according to Badkōnī's views (text ii, 208, 209).

³ Or Khokhōwāl, in the *Bārī Dāb*.

⁴ I have not been able to obtain any information regarding this tribe.

"From the rain of Thy favour, O merciful Providence,
There remain, from each drop, in the heart of the wise a
hundred rivers of precious secrets."

Shīrī had great facility in writing verse, and once boasted that he had composed thirty odes in one night, but God knows whether this was true or not. One day he was reading in an assembly a fragment from his *divān*, which contained this hemistich,

"I have thrown four volumes of verse into the river Cināb."

The late Maulānā Ilāhdād of Amroha ¹ at once said, "What if you had thrown this spill ² of paper after them?"

Shīrī possessed, to some extent, unworldliness, sympathy, and the ascetic spirit, and has written verses in this vein, for example,

"I am lord of the table of poverty, and never
Will my spirit allow me to beg from my friend.
To borrow from Hindūs at four hundred per cent
Is better than receiving gifts from these Musalmāns."

No poet among his contemporaries has written better pessimistic poetry ³ than he has. This is a specimen of such verses:—

"O, ye dead, rejoice that ye are at rest,
For pleasure has departed from our midst!
O, ye who are to follow us, read the *fātiḥa* ⁴
To offer thanks that you were not living in our time!"

In the composition of elaborate odes and epigrams he certainly excelled all the poets of his time, and silenced them by making such felicity of diction as they possessed seem as naught beside
250 his own. The following fragment justly describes his abilities in this line.

"If thou ask me of the poetry of Shīrī
I would say, if justice is to be done,

¹ Vide c. ii, no. LXX.

² پتیل 'A wick for a lamp,' 'a linstock.' For فتیل.

³ شکویات (*shakaviyyāt*), lit. 'complaints,' scil against fate.

⁴ The first chapter of the *Qur'ān*, often read as an act of thanksgiving.

That not all the verses that poets write pass as current
coin

Just as nobody's wine is all clear.

Shirī, praise not the base,

For praise befits the noble.¹

Shirī's ghazals and maṣnawīs are mere rubbish,

And this is intended neither for praise nor for blame,

But the fame of his odes and epigrams

Has reached the uttermost parts of the earth."²

The few verses quoted below are the production of his brilliant wit:—

"My heart is so enamoured of the beauty of Salmā³

That it wanders abroad with her heart in search of
consolation.

The remembrance of another by that heart in which thou
dwest

Is equivalent to the worship of 'Uzzā⁴ in the *Ka'bah*.⁵

The beloved has so entirely surrounded herself with an
array of coquetry,

That even desire found no way of access to her in that
dense crowd."

"Bid the caravan move faster, that Egypt

May no longer send back to us the cries of Zulaikhā⁶
grieving for our absence."

¹ The verse may have two meanings, one, that which is apparent, and the other, that Shirī was not of sufficiently noble birth to be able to appreciate the qualities that call for such praise as is contained in oriental laudatory verse.

² Lit. 'from Caucasus to Caucasus.' This last couplet is in both MSS., but has been carelessly omitted from the text.

³ A woman celebrated for her beauty, hence 'a beloved mistress.'

⁴ An idol worshipped by the 'Arabs before the days of Muḥammad.

⁵ The temple of Makkah.

⁶ The wife of Potiḥar, who loved Joseph. For the Muḥammadan version of the story *vide* *Qur'ān* xii

"I have bound my letter to thee with a white thread to signify
That in my separation from thee no blood remains in the
veins of my soul." ———

"Deprived of thy face my existence is a sea of pain and
grief,
My ribs are the waves of that sea." ———

"She comes to slay me, with the sword of cruelty in her
hand.
Whatever men relate of injustice is committed by that
cruel one." ———

251 "In the abundance of its hopefulness the heart believes that
a messenger comes from Shirīn
To the unfortunate Farhād¹ even though it be Parvīz
himself that comes." ———

"Wherefore, O tear, dost thou traverse my eye
When I bid farewell to my dear?
Where wert thou then, that thou now obscurest my sight?
O Zephyr, my beloved has entirely filled the mould of my
desire,
I am thy devoted servant, but thou wanderest overmuch in
her street." ———

The following few couplets are from an ode of question and
answer² by him:—

"I said, 'O heart, what is the cause of this change in the
condition of the world?'
My heart replied, 'Silence, the brain of heaven is thrown
into confusion.'"

¹ Farhād was the lover of Shirīn, Parvīz being her husband.

² A very common variety of the *ghazal* or *qasīdah*, the form being a conversation between the poet and his heart, or his beloved,

I said, 'From the well of hope the water of desire is not to be had.'

It replied 'The well-rope of hope was not sufficiently long.'¹

I said, 'If there is any rest anywhere, tell me where it may be found ?'

It replied, 'In sleep, they say, the sleep of death.'

I said, 'Can anyone spend his life in joy ?'

It said 'This is mere speech, which never comes to pass.'

I said 'Why is the brow of the beloved one furrowed with a frown ?'

It said, 'It is ill to contend with one ill-disposed.'

I said, 'The mirror of wisdom is covered with rust.'

It said, 'Where is the burnisher, generosity, that it may once more receive a polish ?'

I said, 'The eloquent are the ornament of the assembly.' 252

It said, 'Thou canst not say these things to the wealthy.'

I said, 'Alas for these men, who are far from the truth !'

It said, 'Let justice be done on this deceitful race, which follows injustice.'

I said, 'I have a detailed complaint to make against my fate.'

It said, 'To the King thou must relate it succinctly.'

I said, 'To Akbar, who resembles Jamshīd in glory and Sulaimān in wisdom ?'

It said, 'Yes, the King of high destiny who in dignity resembles the sun.'

I said, 'That personality which is second only to the prophet in honour ?'

It said, 'Yes to that creature of God who surpasses all in beneficence.'

I said, 'By race and descent the crown and the throne are justly his.'

It said, 'His favour and liberality are the protection of his kingdom and his people.'

¹ i.e. the lover had not subsisted sufficiently long on hope.

The following two couplets are from an ode which he wrote on the utility of the elephant:—

“How sweetly pass those nights in which, praying incessantly for the safety of the King’s elephant,
I read the chapter ‘night’¹ by the margin of the river Biyāh;
On the fair ones of Kūkūwāl with the gait of an elephant² and the eyes of gazelles
I think every moment, and heave sighs from my bosom.”

The following is the opening couplet of an ode in which he enumerates six things as being necessary.

“O thou who holdest the world in the grasp of thy wisdom by the force of thy sword and thy arrow,
Crowned monarch of the throne and of fate,
Who conquerest the world by means of thy elephants and thy horses,
Thy crown and thy throne, thy sword and thy arrow are the sun, the moon, the lightning, and the meteor,
A hundred writers³ would be unable to reckon the number of thy elephants and horses.”

As his *divān* is exceedingly well known I refrain from quoting any more of his verses.

At the time when he was employed on the translation of the *Mahābhārata*⁴ he said, “These prolix fables resemble the dreams of a man in a fever.”

¹ The 92nd chapter of the *Qur’ān*.

² The gait of an elephant is regarded as peculiarly graceful.

³ دبير (dabir). Having regard to the similes in the preceding hemistich the reference is probably to the planet Mercury, called دبير نلکى (dabir-i-falak) ‘the writer of the sky.’

⁴ The only translation with which *Shīrī* is credited in the *Āin* is that of the *Haribans*. The *Mahābhārata* was translated under the superintendence of Badāoni and *Shīrī* was one of his collaborators. Vide *Āin*, trans. Blochmann, i, 104, 106, Badāoni, text ii, 319.

Mullā Shīrī's death occurred in the hilly country of the Yūsufzais, in the year H. 994 (A.D. 1586) as has been already mentioned.¹

LXVII. SHAKIBĪ OF IṢFAHĀN.²

253

He came recently to India, and is in the service of the Khān-khānān, son of Bairam Khān.³ He has good taste. The following verses are by him :⁴—

"My nightly lamentations are still of some effect.

My broken bow has still an arrow which will reach its mark.

My heart is provoked by her absence; show me some mercy, O fate!

For my hand is hampered in combat by my having a mountain's weight tied to my waist.

Scatter roses on the skirts of my friends, for he who is wounded to the heart by her absence

Has, on the point of each eyelash, a hundred drops⁵ from his liver."

"O God! Send me from heaven a market for my wares,

I am selling my heart for a sight of my love; send me a buyer."

"My wares are anguish, not joy; why dost thou ask the price?

Well I know that thou wilt not buy, and I will not sell."

¹ Vol. ii, text 350. This was the battle in the course of which Rāja Bīr Bar, in Badāonī's words, "joined the dogs of hell."

² Not mentioned in the *Āin*. In the *Tabaqāt* he is thus described: "Mullā Shakibī of Iṣfahān has acquired many accomplishments and has many praise-worthy qualities. He writes elegant verse. He is in the service of the Khān-khānān Mīrzā Khān, son of Muḥammad Bairam Khān."

³ Mīrzā 'Abdur-Raḥīm, son of Bairam Khān. Vide *Āin-i-Akbarī*, trans. Blochmann, i, 334.

⁴ MS. (A) has چکیدہ خاند معنی زای اوست 'were distilled from his significant pen.'

⁵ Literally, 'pieces.'

"When will the deliciousness of love's grief be forgotten?
I have sprinkled that salt on the marrow of my bones."

LXVIII. SHUJĀ'Ī.

He is Saif-ul-Mulūk the physician.¹ One day when he came to treat a sick man Mir Sayyid Muḥammad the cloth-weaver, who has the poetical name of Fikrī,² and is well known under the nickname of *Mīr Rubā'ī*, was employed with the patient. The Mir said of *Shujā'ī*,

"A sharp sword³ is his worship, Maulavi Saif-ul-Mulūk,
Who has introduced a new fashion in the practice of medicine.

254 Yesterday Death said, when he had come to take the life of
a sick man,

'Everywhere I go *he* has been called in first.'⁴

The Maulānā (Saif-ul-Mulūk) composed the following 'increased' quatrain⁴ on the incontinence and gluttony of the Mir (Sayyid Muḥammad),

"O Mir, how can five gallons⁵ of thick broth be contained—
in one debilitated stomach?

*Si autem contineantur, quomodo continebit se penis tuus—ab
intromissione primā?*⁶

¹ Vide c. iii, no. II, and *Āin-i-Akbarī*, trans. Blochmann, i, 543, where he is called Ḥakīm Saif-ul-Mulūk, Lang ('the lame').

² Vide no. CII.

³ The word سيف (*saif*) means 'a sword.' The title Saif-ul-Mulūk means 'the sword of kings.' Saif-ul-Mulk means 'the sword of the kingdom.' As has been said, Saif-ul-Mulūk was nicknamed *Saif-ul-Ḥukamā*, 'the sword of the physicians.'

⁴ A quatrain in which, after the metre and rhyme of each verse have been completed, an addition is made to it, prolonging the metre and completing the sense. In the example given I have placed a dash between the completed verse and the addition. In the text the words رباعي مستزاد have been carelessly printed as though they were the heading of the account of a fresh poet.

⁵ Lit دو من (*dū man*) 'two maunds.'

⁶ I am not sure of the meaning of this line, as the poet uses a word which I

A tablet which will not contain a quatrain—written in the smallest writing¹

Will surely not contain a long ode—written in large text.²

The following verses are the production of the Maulānā's almost magical genius :—

“Distracted with love, the hair of thy head is dishevelled,
May I become a sacrifice for thy head, for thou hast traffic
with lovers.”

“A hair has fallen from my love's locks across her cheek,
Or is it perchance the thread of my soul lying across the
fire?”

“Better that I should be buried in the earth than that, for
the sake of base desires,
I should walk the earth to seek favours from worldlings.”

LXIX. SHU'ŪBĪ OF TURBAT.³

He is a student and practises book-keeping. The following verses are by him:—

“O thou who, for fear of being separated from thy love, art
in the agony of death,
I give thee good news, for she, whose breath is like that of
Masīḥ,⁴ is coming, nay, is come.”

“The desire of seeing thee brings me, each moment, from my
house;

“Desire has seized me by the collar, and draws me to thee.

believe him to have coined. I believe, however, that my translation is, at least, approximately correct.

¹ خط غبار (*Khaff-i-Ghubār*). The smallest kind of handwriting, 'like dust.'

² نث (nath) a large kind of *naskhī* handwriting used in engraving.

³ Shu'ūrī is not mentioned as a poet either in the *Āin* or in the *Ṭabaqāt*. Turbat is either Turbat-i-Ḥaidarī or Turbat-i-Shaikh-i-Jām, both in *Khurāsān*.

⁴ The Messiah. Musalmans attribute the life-giving miracles of our Lord to a miraculous quality in His breath, and this simile is a favourite with poets.

My great Preserver¹ is harsh to me in a thousand ways,
But how shall He bring the poor Shu'ūri into thy presence?"

"Love has entered, and seized the vein of my soul,
The bewilderment of seeing thee has made my tongue
mute."

"Her wavy lock has fallen on her moon-like cheek,
A horse-shoe has been put into the fire for thee."²

"Thou didst promise to sow the seed of faithfulness.
What is faithfulness? To keep one's promises."

"The double chin³ of that beauty with eyebrows like the
new moon
Is the reflection of the new moon in clear water."

"Nay, for when the sun rose in the heavens,
The moon appeared beneath his rays."

LXX. MULLĀ ŠĀDIQ ḤALWĀ'Ī⁴ OF SAMARQAND.

He is too honourable to be placed among the poets and reckoned along with the poets of this age. So to place him is a disgrace

¹ The verse is susceptible of the translation 'my favoured rival, etc.' but the epithet *معظم* (*mu'azzam*) appears to me to indicate the Deity. The ambiguity is possibly designed.

² 'Thy heart, like her hair, will be fixed on her cheek, and will be heated like a horse-shoe, in the fire of love.'

³ Fat is regarded as a beauty in the East.

⁴ The text has, wrongly, *حلواني* (*Ḥalwānī*). Both MSS. have the correct reading. In the *Ṭabaqāt* he is thus described, "Mullā Šādiq Ḥalwā'ī of Samarqand came from Makkah and paid his respects at court. He was for some years in Hindūstān and then went to Kābul, where he was engaged in teaching, and taught Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm. He is now in Samarqand." Vide also *Āin-i-Akbarī*, trans. Blochmann, i, 541, where he is called Maulānā Šādiq.

to him and a disgrace to me. He is mentioned as a *Mulla* of good understanding, of pleasant speech, and full of apposite learning. After many vicissitudes he came to India, and having devoted his attention to the successions¹ of self-styled saints in this country, set most of them by the ears. By the aid of the divine guidance he was led to make a pilgrimage to the sacred house of God,² and the other holy places,³ and in the year H. 978 (A.D. 1570-71) he returned and set out for his native country, but Mirzâ Muhammad Hakim⁴ desired him to sojourn in Kâbul and began to study under him. At present he is living, honoured and respected, in 256 Transoxiana, where he is engaged in teaching and lecturing. He has good taste in poetry and a sublime imagination. He has written a *diwân*. These verses are by him:—

"My heart is lost and nobody can tell me whither it is gone,
Thy ruby lip is laughing, my suspicion rests on thee."

"There is no resting place but thy door for my wandering
heart;
I said I would stray from thy door, but my heart would not
depart."

"Thou hast returned like the sun from thy journey, O thou
with a face like the moon!
Thou wentest away beautiful, and hast returned most
beautiful."

"O thou with a face like the rose, I desire not to see thee
like the snuff of a candle, in every assembly,
I desire not to see thee inclining, like the rose-branch, in
every direction."

¹ The text seems to be corrupt here, but meaning is tolerably clear. The word **كَلْب** (*kalb*) denotes a regular line of saints by spiritual succession, and, hence, a religious order.

² The *Ka'bah* at Makkah.

³ Madinah, and other places of pilgrimage in the Hijâz.

⁴ Akbar's brother, born A.D. 1551, died A.D. 1585.

"My love's mind is like a mirror set before me,
In it I see reflected whatever is in my heart."

"The pain of love, which I kept concealed from thee in my
heart and soul,
Has become manifest from my face, howmuchsoever I
tried to conceal it."

"That stately cypress¹ which I cherished in those eyes of
hers which shed tears of blood
I now see in my own eyes, with all its rubbish and splin-
ters."

"Come, my tears, what do you hope to gain by thus raining
down from my moist eyes."
You have disgraced me before the world: what more do you
require?"

LXXI. ŞABŪŪT.²

He was of the Caghatāi tribe. He lived a very unrestrained
and licentious life. He had great skill in poetry. The following
verses are by him:—

257 "That my heart loves thee thou alone knowest.
I have told this secret to none, God knows."

¹ i.e. the reflection of the poet's own figure.

² He is thus described in the *Āin-i-Akbārī* (i, 582): "He was born in Kābul. Once he slept in the bedroom of Amīr Khusrav, when the shining figure of an old man with a staff in his hand awoke him and ordered him to compose a poem. As he had no power of doing so, he took the whole for a vision and lay down in another place; but the same figure woke him up, and repeated the order. The first verse that he uttered is the following:—

'When I am far from thee my tears turn gradually into an ocean.

Come and see, enter the ship of my eye and make a trip on the ocean' "

In the *Ṭabaqāt* he is called 'Mullā Şabūhī.' The only fact there mentioned of him is that he was for a long time about the court. His name does not appear to be known.

"Come unveiled into my poor house
For there is none in my house save grief for thee."

"Thou hast not been a lover, thou hast not suffered the
grief of separation ;
How should one unfold to thee the tale of separation's
woe ?"

"Thou didst sit nowhere, but the jealous watcher sat with
thee,
Save when thou didst take thy place in my heart and he
remained without."

"Last night to save my life, I took refuge from the hard-
ships of separation in thoughts of thee.
Thy image remained in my soul, else had I died."

"Alas, that I am so forgotten by that cruel one
That her eye has never fallen upon me, even in thought !"

"With thy image in my mind's eye I say, 'This is re-
union.'
I earnestly desire reunion with thee, all I have is imagina-
tion."

"Weakness has overpowered me, and my heart is weary
with weeping.
Who will now inform her of my condition ?
What need is there that I should explain my condition to
her ?
For my heart, if it truly burns, will have some effect on
her."

"Long eyelashes cause calamities
And when the white of the lover's eye becomes red they
shed blood."

His death occurred at Āgrā in the year H. 973 (A.D. 1565-66) or H. 972 (A.D. 1564-65) and the words 'Ṣabūhī the wine-bibber'¹ give the date of it.

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LXXII. ṢĀLĪHĪ.²

He came from Hirāt and has good taste both in poetry and in prose composition. He is somewhat studious and writes a good hand. He was for some time employed as one of the secretaries, and then returned to his native land. He wrote the following couplet:—

“In the night of separation from thee, in my eye-sockets
The blood from my liver was so congealed that sleep could
not enter them.”

This was written in imitation of the following couplet of Amir Khusrav's:—

“I fenced my eyes in with a thorn-hedge of eyelashes
In order that neither thy image might leave them nor
sleep find entrance.”

The following are other verses by Ṣālīhī:—

“With my two eyes, red with weeping during the grief of
the night of separation,
What shall I do, for these will be the roses of the day
when we meet?
I have neither desire nor strength to associate with the
rose, that I should roam in the rose-garden, [ness³
And the scent of the roses suggests to me only unfaithful-
Like the dogs I have taken my place at thy threshold
In order that my rival may not enter in the guise of a
beggar.”

¹ صبوحی میخوار (Ṣabūhī-i-maiḵḵwār). The letters give the date 973. The word Ṣabūh or Ṣabūhī means 'a morning draught.'

² In the *Āin* he is thus described, 'His name is Muḥammad Mirak. He traces his descent from Niẓām-ul-Mulk of Tūs' (i, 583).

³ بیروائی as in MSS. (A) and (B). The text has اشنائی, 'love' or 'familiarity,' which does not make such good sense.

⁴ i.e., as a suitor,

"Since my head was severed by that dagger of cruelty
It remains, weltering in blood, in one place, and my sad
heart in another.

Love, whether in separation or in union, is a source of
pain ;

Khusrav bewails his love in one place and Farhād ¹ his
in another."

LXXIII. ŞĀDİQĪ.²

259

He was born in Qandahār but was a Hirāti by origin. He
was for some time in Hindūstān and died. The following verses
are his :—

"So many wounds has my body received from thy sword
That on whichever side I fall my heart falls to the
ground."

"The wounded heart pays no heed to the body.
The martyr of love has no need of a shroud.
Since I have been created a man of straitened means
Why have I no share in that mouth ³ ?
Of my body little is left but a formless idea, and that too,
When closely regarded, is seen to be no more than my
shirt."

"On the day on which each man's lot was decreed to him
by fate,
The lot of others was joy, while mine was sorrow.
O my heart! Tell me not that that moonlike beauty
comes in answer to my weeping ;
So many thousands of lamentations have I uttered, and
when did she come ?"

¹ Khusrav was the husband and Farhād the lover of Shirin.

² Şādiqī is mentioned neither in the *Āin* nor in the *Tabaqāt*.

³ There is a play here on the word كُنْ (*tang*) 'strait' or 'narrow' as
applied both to a man's means and to a lovely mouth which cannot be
reproduced in translation.

A quatrain.

"The structure of cruelty was founded by thee.
 The structure of my life was scattered to the winds by
 thee
 Thou art a treasure of elegance, yet never
 Has my ruined habitation been made prosperous by thee."

LXXIV. *ŞARFI*.¹

260 He is *Shuikh Ya'qûb* of Kashmir, a small portion of whose perfections has already been described by the author's halting pen. He is an epitome of all accomplishments and therefore if his praises be repeated (a pleasant repetition), what fault can be found? In spite of his having written standard works on the mysticism of the *Şufl*, and many other branches of knowledge his genius was highly adapted to the composition of eloquent poetry. The following couplets are a small portion of the fruit of his wonderful meditations:—

"In the morning that beauty with a face like the moon
 threw a veil over her face,
 It was strange to see the sun veiled before evening fell."

"Ask not of the merits of tuff, but ask for the dust of her
 door,
 Ask of its virtues from discerning men."

In his latter days he wished to compose a commentary on the *Qur'ân* like the Great Commentary² and he had already written some of it roughly when suddenly death's decree reached him, and the unavoidable summons of God³ was delivered to him in his well-loved native land, as has been said, and he died.

¹ Vide p. 200. In the *Āin* his *takhalluṣ* is given as *Şairafî*, but *Şarfi* is correct. Vide *Āin-i-Akbarî*, i, 581, and n. 2.

² تفسیر کبیر (*Tafsîr-i-Kabîr*), perhaps the *Anwâr-ut-tanzîl*, vide vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 6, n. 4.

³ The text has خلائق (*Khala'iq*) 'creatures.' Both MSS. have خالق (*Khallâq*) 'the Creator,' which is better.

LXXV. ŠARFĪ OF SĀWA.¹

He was for some time in Gujarāt with Khwāja Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad, and then came to Lāhor and lived as a religious mendicant. When Shaiḥ Faizī was appointed to the Dakan he went with him, and thence journeyed to the next world. He has written a *divān* and in long and short odes was a master of style. The following couplets are by him:—

“I am debarred from traversing the road to the *Ka'bah*,
else would I have sent there,
The sole of a foot glad to endure the torment of collect-
ing its acacia thorns.” —

“My rose-seller who wishes to bring her roses to market
Must first acquire strength to withstand the impetuous
throng of buyers.” —

“If thou wishest to burn me light up the fire of thy cheek,
And so shall a light arise from my ashes till the day of 261
resurrection.”

LXXVI. ŠABŪRĪ OF HAMADĀN.²

He was taken prisoner on the day on which the Khānzamān was slain, and though he escaped execution he did not escape death.³ His poetry is mediocre. These few verses are from his pen:—

“I have surrendered my soul and my heart, being no longer
able to bear the pain of separation from her,

¹ Thus described in the *Āin* (i, 586): “He is poor and has few wants, and lives content with his indigence.” In the corrupt Lakhnau text of the *Ṭabaqāt* he is called ‘Mullā Ḥarfī of Sāwa,’ and is thus described, ‘He was in the company of this humble one (*scil.* the author, Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad) for some time in Gujarāt and was for some time at court. He went with Malik-ush-Shu‘arā Shaiḥ Faizī to the Dakan, and departed thence on the pilgrimage to the *Hijāz*.’ His name seems to have been Shalāḥ-ud-dīn.

² Šabūrī is mentioned neither in the *Āin* nor in the *Ṭabaqāt*.

³ *I*de p. 314, n. 1. The author’s meaning apparently is that Šabūrī died, ether of wounds or of illness, soon after he was captured.

What a pain is this, which has no remedy save the surrendering of one's soul !

When the manifest fever of my love is not visible to her,
How shall I inform her of my secret wounds ?

When that moon-like beauty walks abroad in the night in
vesture of the hue of the night

The brightness of dawn may be seen where her dress
opens at the neck." ———

"I would that her breast could be cleft by my dagger
'That my pure heart might see whether her heart is pure."

"Her waist has entranced the hearts of men,
Has completely made away with the hearts of men."

LXXVII. ŠĀLIH THE MADMAN.¹

He obtained from the emperor the title of '*Āqil* ('the sagacious'). He is crazy about *statuary*. For some time he has laid it upon himself as a duty to eat nothing before he has sent five or six dishes of meat to be thrown into a river, a fountain, or a pond as an offering to *Khizr* (on him be peace). He used to hand these dishes to *Qāsim*, a native of India (who was a poet and the son of an elephant driver, and also a low-minded fellow), and *Qāsim* used to go out and invite *galandars*² and other rascals to eat the food, and when (on his return) *Šālih* would say, 'Ha, did you see the *Khwāja*?' the impudent rogue would reply, "Yes, his holiness the *Khwāja* deigned to eat the food with much relish, and sent you his blessing," and would fabricate lying stories of this sort, which the madman believed. He had, however, some poetic genius, and to him might have been applied the saying :—

¹ Thus described in the *Ṭabaqāt*, "Muḥammad Šālih the madman received the title of '*Āqil*. His father was said to be *I'lāmī* the librarian, who had been librarian to the emperor *Humāyūn*. Muḥammad Šālih grew up from childhood in the service of the emperor *Akbar* and is now enjoying an allowance in *Kābul*. He is in easy circumstances and well-to-do."

² قلندر a wandering religious mendicant, usually of loose habits.

"Beautiful poetry emanates from the cross-grained Haidar
Kalaj
Just as roses spring from a midden."

Šalih wrote the following couplet :—

"Since the desire of her locks has fettered my feet,
My only way out of this bargain¹ is to surrender my
life."

Šalih was for some time a favoured and honoured courtier, then fell into disgrace and went to Kābul. He returned thence and was appointed to the trusteeship of the light-diffusing shrine of the Sultān of Shaikhs² (may God hallow his soul!), but did not accept the appointment, and, having obtained leave to return to Kābul, departed.

LXXVIII. TĪRAMĪ.

He is Mullā 'Alī the Muḥaddiḡ,³ brother of the well-known Mullā Šādiq. He acquired his learning in the Sayings in Arabia, and was extremely pious and temperate. He came twice to India, and in the year H. 981 (A.D. 1573-74) entered the protection of God's mercy, when the famous Mullā 'Ālim of Kābul⁴ made this chronogram on his death.

¹ This couplet contains the usual play on the words *مودة* (Arabic) 'melancholy,' 'desire' and *مود* (Persian) 'traffic,' 'trade,' and also the common simile which likens the locks of the beloved to fetters.

² Shaikh Nūr-muḍ-din Anliyā, born at Badāon in Oct. A.D. 1236, and died at Dillī April 3, A.D. 1525. Vide vol. i, trans., Ranking, pp. 71, n. 2, 236 and n. 2, 266 and n. 1, 267, 269, n. 5, 270 and n. 6, 271 nn. 1 and 4, 284, 301, 610 and n. 4, 611, n. Also Firishṭa, ii, 730, and the *Īn-i-Akbarī*, iii, 363.

³ *مُحَدِّث* 'one learned in the sayings of Muḥammad' (*إحاديث*) mentioned below. Mullā 'Alī Tīramī the Muḥaddiḡ is not mentioned in the *Āin*. For an account of his brother, vide p. 354.

⁴ Vide no. LXXIV.

"Alas! for suddenly Mullā 'Alī

Has been snatched from our midst by misfortune's victory.
To ascertain the year of his death remember that the date
of the year which followed it
Is contained in the words 'Mullā 'Alī the *Muḥaddis* is
dead.'"¹

His sprightly genius, following the dictates of his taste, would
sometimes employ itself in the composition of verses. (The
263 following are some of his verses.)

"My earthy body is so withered away from the scorching
brand of separation
That it escapes from my garments like dust, if I shake
the skirt of my robe."

"Thy stately form is a plant in the garden of my soul,
The plant of thy stature is more ethereal than my
thoughts."

"I have plunged the pupil of my eye into water
That it may not for a moment think of sleep."

"Since I have no honour among men,
I seek to flee from men as my tears flow from my eyes."²

• *مودلا ملا علي محدث* giving the date A.H. 982. I have been obliged
to give a somewhat full paraphrase of the hemistich preceding this, which
has apparently puzzled the editor of the text, in order that the sense may
not be lost. The editor of the text, in a footnote in which he gives an
inferior variant of the hemistich, gravely remarks that the chronogram
gives the date 982, not having understood, apparently that the composer of
the chronogram has drawn attention to this fact, and expressly says that
the date given in the chronogram is that of the year following that of the
Mullā's death.

² There is here a play upon the words *مردم* (*mardum*) 'men' and
مردم (*mardum*, for *mardum-i-cashm*) 'pupil of the eye' which cannot be
reproduced in translation.

"Since I have cast my heart into the bonds of the tresses
of moonlike beauties
I have woven for myself a net of calamity."

LXXIX. TARĪQĪ OF SĀWA.¹

He was a lewd old man and a buffoon² and was popular among most of the poets about the court by the mere force of his impudence.

He at last had the honour of performing the holy pilgrimage (to Makkah), and died there. The following verses are by him:—

"What business have lovers other than giving up their lives?
Since I fear not death what else should I fear?"

"From the toilsome pain of separation nobody has any life
left."

If this is separation nobody has any life left."

"In this land I have given my heart to a most cruel enslaver.
I have fallen into the snare of the locks of one with a face
like a fairy."

"I am the faithful dog of him whose foot does not stray 264
beyond the skirts of his own power,
Who imposes obligations on none, and is under obligation to
none."

¹ Thus described in the *Tabaqāt*, 'Mullā Tarīqī spent some years in the emperor's service, and at length performed a pilgrimage to the Hijāz, where he died.' In note 3 on p. 598 of the *Āin* (vol. i.), an epigram of his on Judā'ī (p. 291) is quoted. He accuses Judā'ī of plagiarism from Ashkī (p. 260). On p. 252 he is accused by Qāsim Arsalān, with Sahmī and Farīdūn, as a plagiarist.

² A word (جنکرة) occurs here the meaning of which I cannot divine. I neither know nor can discover any Persian or Urdū word resembling it, and have been obliged to omit it. Whatever Badāonī wrote, we may be tolerably certain that it was nothing complimentary.

"We saw the graceful cypress-like figure of that fair one
depart,
Although no one has seen a soul depart."

"Thou saidst, 'Do not hover around me, or I will disgrace
and slay thee.'
Still do I hover around thee. Depart not from thy word."

"When her two cheeks come into my mind in the hours of
sleep,
All night long I see the moon and the sun in my dreams.
Remembering that thou wert to come, although thou
comest not,
Tranquillity leaves my soul, and distraction enters my
heart."

"The pain of love is increased, and no sympathy remains in
the world,
Majnūn was both afflicted and sympathetic, but he did not
remain in the world."

"From this world, as a mistress, I have wholly cut myself off.
That I might quarrel with nobody for such a thing as a
world."

"It is impossible to live without thee for a moment in the
world,
For thou art my soul, and nobody can live without a soul."

"Nobody spoke, nor asked what a stage this must have been
In which Khizr was the last of the water-carriers of the
caravan."

"The army of grief for thy absence has captured the citadel
of my heart,

The cars which are visible on my heart are the hosts¹ of the foe."

LXXX. TĀLIB OF IṢFAHĀN.²

265

He has now dwelt in Kashmīr for nearly eight years. At first he was a religious mendicant and then he elected to become an official, and entered the emperor's service. From Kashmīr he was sent as envoy to the ruler of Little Tibet, 'Alī Rāi,³ and on his return presented to Shaiikh Abū-'l-Faḍl a treatise which he had written on the wonders of that land, which Abū-'l-Faḍl embodied in the *Akharnāma*. He is a very sympathetic man, and his taste, both in poetry and in prose, is correct. He wrote the following quatrain:—

"Thou givest me to drink of the poison of thy absence, asking
me what has happened,
Thou sheddest my blood and shakest me from thee, asking
me what has happened,
O thou who art ignorant of what the sword of thy absence
inflicts on me,
Wring my dust, that thou mayst know what has happened
to me."

¹ **میانهای لشکر** (*miyāhī-i-lashkar*) 'dark bodies of troops.'

² In the *Āin* (i, 607), where he is called 'Bībā Tālib of Iṣfahān,' he is thus described, 'He is a thoughtful poet, and is experienced in political matters.' According to the *Haft Iqlīm* Bābā Tālib had been for nearly thirty years in Kashmīr, patronized by the rulers of that country. When Akbar annexed the province he came to Hindūstān, where he was much liked. According to the *Ma'āziri-i-Ruḥīmī* he was often in the company of Ḥakīm Abū-l-Faḍl (p. 233), Zaiin Khān Kūka, Abū-'l-Faḍl, and Shaiikh Faizī, and was, in 1616, Ṣadr of Gujarāt. Vide also Badāonī, vol. ii, text, p. 372.

³ Vide vol. ii, text, 372. In 1591 Hājī Mirzā Beg of Kābul was sent to 'Alī Rāi to demand his daughter in marriage for S-ḥān Salīm (Jahāngīr), and returned with the lady, who was duly married to the prince as his eighth wife. On this occasion Mulla Tālib accompanied Hājī Mirzā Beg. In A.D. 1602-03 'Alī Rāi invaded the frontier districts of Kashmīr, but retreated before Muḥammad Qalī Khān, Turkman, and Saifullāh. Vide *Āin-i-Akbarī*, i, 474.

Another quatrain.

"Thou readest not the story of my grief, and it waxes old,
 Thou knowest not my disappointment, and it waxes old,
 Let not thy coming be delayed, for as for this wound of
 separation,
 I fear that thou wilt linger, and it will wax old."

Another quatrain.

"One day I, weary with travelling along the road of the stages
 of the heart,
 Turned its dust into mire with water from blisters on the
 foot of search.
 I spend my life on this road in order that, in answer to
 my supplication,
 Soul may meet soul, and heart heart."

266

Other verses.

"Seek after enjoyment, for this virgin of life, sitting in the
 bridal chamber,
 Like a rose bursting forth from the bud casts her mother
 aside.
 Like the petals of a rose scattered by the spring breeze
 We go, with dust on our heads in the grief of our hearts."

—————
 "I am pleased with the folk of this world, for I have learnt
 from their fellowship
 Not to give up my corner of solitude for the world."

LXXXI. TĀLĪ'Ī OF YAZD.¹

He is a penman who writes the *nasta'liq* hand well and is of
 moderately studious habits. His business was that of a book-
 seller² in Agra.

¹ He is not mentioned in the *Āin* or in the *Tabaqāt*.

² Or 'bookhinder,' or 'librarian' — معانی

The following couplets are by him :—

"Cupbearer,¹ how long can the grief of this world be borne?
Bring wine, that I may banish grief from my heart."

"Every moment she afflicts my heart, that she may make it
weary of her.

When will my heart weary of her, however much she
afflicts it?"

"I wish for no companion but thee, my darling,
'I desire thee, and there is none in the world that I desire
beside thee."

"If, when I have suffered a thousand griefs, she listens to a
word from me,

She hears but the speech of a self-seeker, and straightway
forgets it."

"She is enraged if I speak to her but a word of my sad state;
How strange is this, that I cannot speak of my sad state to
her!"

A quatrain.

267

"The devotee boasts of his virtue and piety,
The lover expends the cash of his life for his love;
Each lives in hope of a glance from the eye of his Friend,
Each wonders towards whom the Friend will cast that
glance."

Another quatrain.

"Summon contentment, if thou art wise,
Thou mayst thus, perchance, slay the dog of base desire.
See that neither water nor broth be too plentiful. Drain
not the cup,
For it will rebuke thee in a hundred draughts of iced water
and acid."

¹ The text has, wrongly, *ماتيان* (*ṣāṭiyān*) in the plural. The MSS. have *ماتيا* (*ṣāṭiyā*), the vocative singular, which is correct.

LXXXII. TIFLĪ.¹

He is the son of Mullā Darvish of Fathpūr, and his uncle, Mullā Šālīh, is now the teacher appointed to the monastery at Fathpūr. Tiflī in his thirteenth year was reading the *Sharḥ-i-Shamsiyyah*.² He has a most generous nature and an admirable taste in poetry. He is in the service of the eldest prince,³ and obtained the poetic name of Tiflī from him. The following few couplets are from a laudatory ode which he composed in honour of the prince :—

“O King,⁴ in whose just reign strife itself has become the guardian of the world against the robbers of confusion,
The hope of thy favour is such that the very sins of sinners protect them from the fire of hell.

268

Thou art he, to the war-horse of whose resolution in the day of battle

Victory is the standard-bearer and success the fellow.

Last night the bird of glory brought the record of thy success,

That bird the fame of whose pinions comes from the uttermost parts of space beyond our ken.

The scribe of thy dignity has written passages of which we hope for a translation and for which we earnestly desire a translator.”

He also wrote the following verses :—

“If the beauty of the Idol were to display itself in the monastery

¹ Neither Tiflī nor his relations are mentioned in the *Āin*, nor in the *Tabaqāt*.

² A commentary on a famous work on logic. *Vide* vol. i, trans. Ranking, 427, n. 1.

³ *Scil.* Sulṭān Salīm, afterwards the emperor Jahāngīr.

⁴ Jahāngīr had not ascended the throne when this grossly fulsome poem was written, but the word *Shāh* was applicable to a prince, as well as to a king, and the word used for reign is *دور* (*daur*) not *دع* (*'ahd*) so that the poet did not risk the resentment of Akbar, while he flattered his own master.

Devotees who drag about their prayer carpets would exchange their rosaries for the idolator's thread.

Nobody counts the cash of both worlds offered by the buyer
In that place where the merchandise consists of wounded hearts."

"I am he who has grown to love the lancet of grief.
Ointment is shamed by the wound in my breast."

"From our manner of dealing with Islām in the day of retribution
It is likely that infidelity will seize us by the skirt."

"The song of love's feast this night inflamed the plectrum,
Her glances were the singers and her eyebrow the rebeck-players this night."

"O heart, let my lips for once be wreathed with smiles!
For to-night will be seen the splendour of love's tears of blood."

"I fear no reproof, for the reproaches of the jealous watcher
Are as applause to the followers of love's religion."

"Ah! See how thy glance imperils our true faith, 269
Trust in thy promises is a sure way to disappointment." ¹

"Brahman, despair not of the efficacy of thy prostrations to thy idol,
For the mark on thy forehead is the mirror of thy fate." ²

¹ The text has پیشانی (*pīshānī*) 'forehead,' which neither scans nor makes sense. Both MSS. have پشیمانی (*pashīmānī*), the correct reading.

² The reference is to the caste-mark worn on the forehead by Hindūs. The couplet is Śūfī-istic in tone. Religion, the poet says, is a purely subjective matter, and it is the sincerity of worship rather than its object, that is important.

"How should my pain be assuaged by lint and ointment,
The bird of whose wounded heart breathes forth flame?"

The following few couplets are from a *tarjī'-band*¹ by Tiflī:—

"My tears, rejoice, for this night
My heart's blood surges up in my eyes.
O reunion, plead for me, for my desire for her
Has devastated the abode of reason.
Speak not to me of delight,
For the lancet has become the companion of my wound,
It is useless to say to anybody,
'Scatter diamond-dust in your wound but do not cry out.'"

It is marvellous that a lad of Tiflī's years should understand and speak Persian; much more so that he should be able to compose poetry in the language. It may be hoped that he will outstrip many of these old men who have wasted their lives.

LXXXIII. ZUHŪRĪ.²

He used to live in the Dakan, and was characterized by his unrestrained manner of life; his indifference to public opinion, and his disinclination from attending at the courts of kings. Shaiḫ Faḏī used to dilate much on the praiseworthy qualities of him and of Malik Qumī, known as Malik-ul-Kalām, and these two poets wished to accompany the Shaiḫ to the imperial court at Lāhor, but Burhān-ul-Mulk³ prevented them from going. It is

¹ A poem in which a refrain occurs at stated intervals.

² Zuhūrī is mentioned neither in the *Āin* nor in the *Zubagāt*. The Asiatic Society of Bengal has a MS. copy of his *divan*. He is described as Mullā Nūr-ud-dīn Zuhūrī of Tarahīz.

³ Burhān Nizām Shāh II, king of Ahmādnagar, A.D. 1590-1594. On his death the affairs of the Ahmādnagar kingdom fell into great confusion. Three kings followed one another in quick succession, mere puppets raised to the throne and deposed by opposing factions, and there was much bloodshed. In 1595, the year in which Badāonī's history was concluded, Akbar's troops were attacking Ahmādnagar and peace was made on the condition that Ahmādnagar ceded to the empire the province of Berar. *Vide Historic Landmarks of the Deccan*, by Major T. W. Haig, pp. 39, 236.

now reported that the unruly Dakanis, following their detestable habit of murdering foreigners,¹ have, in a recent riot, put these two poor innocent men to death (may God put *them* to death!).

Maulānā Zuhūrī was a master of poetical style, and composed a *diwān*. The following couplets are quoted as a memorial of 270 him:—

“The wine-stains cause tulips to bloom on my woollen coat,
The evening of Friday ever brings a Saturday for me.”²

“Zuhūrī, thy complaints of the beloved are out of place.
Thy destiny is at fault. What fault is that of hers?”

LXXXIV. ‘ĀLIM OF KĀBUL.³

This Mullā of pleasant manners, cheerful nature and graceful actions used the poetical name of ‘Ārif. In argument, and at other times, he would say things fit to make his hearers die with laughter. In his common-place book he has written an essay on the commentary⁴ on the *Maqāṣid* and has stated the proposition that the title means ‘the book of endeavour,’ which was one of the compositions of the writer, and also a commentary called the *Tajlid* (‘renewal’) on the commentary¹ on the

¹ The domestic history of the independent Muḥammadan kingdoms of the Dakan is largely the history of violent and bloody feuds between the *Dakani* and Abyssinian nobles on the one hand and the ‘foreign’ nobles (Turks, Arabs, and Persians) on the other. The latter were frequently much favoured by the kings of the Dakan and the jealousy of the native Dakanis led to frequent conflicts and massacres. *See Haig’s Historic Landmarks of the Decan*, pp. 4–10 *et passim*.

² Friday, according to the Muḥammadan method of computing time, begins on Thursday evening, which is called the evening of Friday. The poet’s meaning is that he does not keep the Sabbath of Islām and that Friday is as Saturday to him. This couplet is not in the text nor in MS. (B). I have introduced it from MS. (A).

³ Mullā ‘Ālim is not mentioned in the *Āin* as a poet. He is thus described in the *Tabaqāt*, ‘Mullā ‘Ālim of Kābul was a man of cheerful nature, happy disposition, and unconventional habits. He wrote poetry and composed a history of governors, learned men, and poets, which he called *Faṣṭiḥ-ul-Wilāyah*.’

⁴ I have not been able to identify these two works, which are probably works on theology.

Tajdīd, and also some marginal notes on the *Muṭawwal*,¹ in which he writes, "This book is copied from the book *Tuwal*,² which is equal in length to the *Muṭawwal*, or even longer." He has also written a book containing accounts of the *Shaikhs* of India, in which he has entered everything that he has heard from every mosque-sweeper and beggar, adding also some conjectures of his own, and he has named it *Wa fawātiḥ-ul-wilāyah*. When they questioned him regarding this title, saying, "The particle *wa* ('and') requires something preceding it, to be coupled with the latter clause, and what should precede, it does not appear," he replied, "That which precedes it is here understood, and is manifest by transposition, that is to say, the title should be *Fawātiḥ-ul-walāyah*, with a *fathah* over the *wāw* of *walāyah* as the *wāw* preceding the phrase indicates, not with a *kasr* under the *wāw* of *wilāyah*, as it is commonly read."³

The Mullā was always jealous of Qāzī Khān of Badakhshān,⁴ on the ground of his having invented the *siḍdah*⁵ ('prostration'). One day in Fathpūr he led the late Mīrzā Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad and the author off to his house at early dawn, with much solicitation, and, having given us an appetizing electuary, began to show

¹ *Vide* vol. I (trans. Ranking), p. 428, n. 3.

² The Mullā is here punning on the title of the *Muṭawwal*, which means 'lengthened.' *Tuwal* means 'the duration of life,' also 'the seven long chapters of the Qur'ān.'

³ I have been obliged to translate somewhat freely here, in order to make some attempt at explaining the Mullā's clumsy jest. *Wa fawātiḥ-ul-wilāyah* means 'and the beginnings of saintship.' The Mullā was asked to explain the apparently redundant 'and,' and replied that it indicated that the first letter of the word *wilāyah* ('saintship') was to be read with a short 'a,' like the same letter in the word *wa* ('and'), so that the title of the book would read *Fawātiḥ-ul-walāyah* ('the beginnings of governing'), his object being to satirize the pretended saints who had made their sanctity a means of rising to high places. *Vide infra*.

⁴ *Vide Āin-i-Akbarī*, i, 440, where his title is given as Ghāzī Khān, his name being Qāzī Nizām. *Vide* p. 214.

⁵ The *siḍdah* ('prostration') was introduced at Akbar's court instead of the *kūrnish* and *taslim* (bowing and raising the hand to the head), and gave great offence to the orthodox, *vide* p. 214, n. 2.

as his books, talking about them from dawn till midday, while we remained hungry and were not able to get a word in. At last the Mirza, not being able to induce it, asked the Mulla whether he had anything to eat. The Mulla answered, "I thought that 271 you had eaten before you came. I have a lamb here; if you wish I will kill it now." We rose and went home. It is impossible to say what all pranks of this nature which he played.

When he saw that Shakh Alī 'Alī-Pāshā, Qāsi Khān, and others of his contemporaries from among *ṣavābīs* rose to the rank of *amīr* of the highest grade, while he continued to draw a small stipend, he got so vexed that he thought he admitted as a soldier. His request was granted, and one day, at the time when the guard turned out for the evening watch, he appeared in military guise before the emperor, put on a grotesque fashion with a borrowed sword on his back, and approached the presence from one side of the dārkhāna, stood, and, casting his sword and to him, said, without any introduction, "By which commandment shall I stand, and from what place shall I make my obeisance?" The emperor was so amused as much to penetrate his jest, and said, "Make your obeisance from that place in which you are now standing." When the Mulla saw that this effort to obtain recognition had failed, he was heartened no more. One day, in order to show that he possessed and that became a soldier, he came to court, in the morning dress, in dirty, dirty clothes quilted with cotton, which had been either given or lent to him by somebody, and Mirzā

¹ The text appears to me to be correct here. It has **بی زیارت کنی** which is intelligible. MS. (A.) has **بی زیارت کسی** which is not much better. MS. (B.) has **بی زیارت کسی** who appears to me to be the correct reading, and which I have followed. For **خلاق** in the text and MSS. which makes no sense, I have substituted **قدی**.

² A military commander. The object of the unceremonious behaviour of Halka 'Alam, who was, apparently, at this time no more than a private soldier, was an attempt to obtain a *ṣavāb*, or military command.

³ The word used is **تعلیم** (*ta'lim*). The Mulla would not, apparently, perform the **ṣavāb** (or *'ab*) 'prostration'.

'Aziz Kūka cracked some pleasant jests on his appearance, and the Mullā returned pleasant answers to them.

As his birthplace was Gulbahār, a village in the district of Kābul, he wrote for some time under the poetical name of Bahāri, but afterwards, having recognized that the name was unbecoming, as it called to mind the names borne by servant girls, he changed it, and called himself Rabi'ī.¹ The motto which he composed for his seal was, "He had a well-ordered mind."²

272 The following few couplets are quoted as a memorial of him:—

"That eye in which I delighted every moment flees away,
It may be that I shall place a straw from her wall upon it."

"The glass of delight has been shattered, with whomsoever
I sat;

The bond of fellowship has snapped, with whomsoever I
bound it.

She has risen to slay me, with the sword of hatred in her
hand,

Whenever I sat in kindness with anybody for a moment."

He has composed, some couplets in the metre of 'The Chain of Gold'³ and he has called his book of nonsense "The Tinkling of the Bell," and has enumerated in it books said to be of his own composition, some of which have no existence but in his verses, and has given them imaginary names, as in the following verses:—

"Thou mayst have seen, from a copy of the *Tajdīd*,¹
That a new favour has newly arrived
In which are concealed a hundred stages of the pilgrimage,²
And from the contents of which great enterprises³ are mani-
fest.

The text of the *Tajūd*⁴ is halting beside it,
Its rose-garden has lost its colour from want of water.
Its splendour, without dissimulation and without exaggera-
tion.

Is perfect wisdom, the wisdom of the sunrise⁵
And of that book, the attributes of which are beyond
telling,

*Dalālat-ul-ʿaql*⁶ is the name and description.

And that pearl which has come from the ocean of generosity,
Is the *Izzat-ul-jūd fi'l-irjūd*.⁷

I am the compiler of that '*ʿAlīm-ul-āthār*,⁸

From the instructions of the knower of chronicles,

¹ The *Tajdīd* (تجدید—'renewal') was Mullā 'Alīm's commentary on the commentary on the *Tajūd*. In this couplet the poet puns on the Arabic root meaning 'new,' using three different measures of the trilateral root.

² موقوف (*mauqūf*) 'halting places or stages in the performance of the ceremonies of the pilgrimage at *Mecca*. It is probable that Mullā 'Alīm styled the chapters or sections of his book *mauqūf*, or that he is referring to a book of this name. MS. (A) has the reading موقوف (*muwqūf*) which does not make good sense.

³ مقاصد (*maqāsid*) a reference to the poet's کتاب قصد (*kitāb-i-qasād*) or 'book of endeavour' and to the *Maqāsid*, the book on which it is a commentary.

⁴ Vide note 1, *supra*.

⁵ حکمت عین و حکمت اشراق. It is possible that the words عین ('*ain*') and اشراق (*ishrāq*) refer to the titles of books.

⁶ 'Indication of wisdom,' apparently one of the poet's imaginary works.

⁷ 'The ocean of generosity, on existence,' apparently another of the poet's imaginary works.

⁸ عوالم الآثار 'worlds of relics.' Probably another of Mullā 'Alīm's imaginary works.

In which I have collected a hundred and twenty different branches of learning;

Say who else can be thus described."

In spite of all this fooling he was a good friend, tactful, accomplished, able, sympathetic, unceremonious, agreeable, acceptable, and jocular. I hope that God (He is praised and exalted!) may in His grace and benevolence have made him a partaker of eternal life in heaven.

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LXXXV. MIR 'ABDUL HAYY OF MASHHAD.¹

He was for some time *Şadr*² under the emperor Humāyūn and his brother, Mir 'Abdullāh the jurist, was one of Humāyūn's intimate and specially honoured confidants. Both brothers were endued with piety, sanctity, and regularity of life.³

Mir 'Abdul Hayy was expert in writing the *Bābarī* hand, which was invented by the emperor Bābar, who sent to the honoured city of Makkah a copy of the *Qur'ān* written in that hand, of which no trace now remains.⁴ In the memoir of Mir

¹ Vide *Āin-i-Akbarī* i, 468, 471, 480. He was a commander of five hundred and Akbar's *Mir-i-'Adl* or chief justice. In the 35th year of Akbar's reign he and *Şadr-i-Jahān* took part in a drinking bout, and amused Akbar very much. Mr. Blochmann says that he is called in the *Tabaqāt* '*Khwāja* 'Abdul Hayy,' but in the Lucknow edition he is thus described, 'Mir 'Abdul Hayy the *Şadr* was a *Khurāsānī*. The emperor Humāyūn made him *Şadr-ul-Afāzīl* ('chief of learned men'). He was for years in the service of the emperor Akbar.'

² 'It was the *Şadr*, or, as he was then (*scil.* before the reign of Akbar) generally styled, *Şadr-i-Jahān*, whose edict legalized the *fulūs*, or accession, of a new king. During the reign of Akbar also he ranked as the fourth officer of the empire. The power of the *Şadr* was immense. They were the highest law officers and had the powers which Administrators-General have among us; they were in charge of all lands devoted to ecclesiastical and benevolent purposes, and possessed an almost unlimited authority of conferring such lands independently of the King. They were also the highest ecclesiastical law-officers, and might exercise the powers of High Inquisitors. Vide *Āin-i-Akbarī*, i, 270.

³ Or, perhaps, 'administrative ability.' The word is *نظامت* (*nizūmat*).

⁴ *Shāikh* Abū-l-Faẓl, in the *Āin-i-Akbarī*, discourse at large on the art of

'Alā-ud-daulah' it is mentioned that Mir 'Abdul Ḥayy devoted some attention to the study of accomplishments and that nobody had learnt to write in the difficult *Bābari* style more quickly or better than he, but Mirzā 'Aziz Kūka wrote in the margin of the memoir that Mir 'Abdul Ḥayy had no knowledge of any branch of learning, and that his one accomplishment was some knowledge of the *Bābari* script, with which he was very imperfectly acquainted, that he was wonderfully simple and would, apropos of nothing and without consideration, relate in social gatherings strange tales which no child would believe. As Mir 'Abdul Ḥayy was better known to Mirzā 'Aziz Kūka than to Mir 'Alā-ud-daulah, it is beyond doubt that what the Mirzā wrote is nearer to the truth than that which is written in the memoir, for Mir 'Alā-ud-daulah, has recorded much incongruous nonsense ² in the memoir.

Mir 'Abdul Ḥayy has some aptitude for poetry, and wrote an answer to that fantastical quatrain which was written in the form of a square by one of the accomplished men about the court in honour of Muḥammad Hindāl Mirzā, and is so well known that it is the first thing that children are set to learn. The quatrain is as follows : —

"O thou, before whose court a hundred Rustams ³ have cast 274
down their crowns,

penmanship and mentions ten different scripts, among which the *Bābari* finds no place. This bears out Badāonī's statement that it was lost. *Vide* *Ain*, i, 96.

¹ *Vide* page 239, also *Ḍin-i-Aḥ'ari*, i 447 and n. 2, where the name of his *Taḡṣirah* or memoir is given as *نقائس المآثر* ('*naḡā'is-ul-ma'āthir*) 'precious memorials'.

² *شتر گربه* (*sh̄tur-gurba*), lit. 'camel-cat.' Anything incongruous or absurd.

³ In the text the four verses of which each of these quatrains is composed are written, following the conceit of their authors, on the four sides of a square, with the exception of the titles concluding the final hemistich of each, which are continued in the line of one of the diagonals of the square. There is no particular art in this conceit, for any quatrain could be so written. The text contains the following note by the editor, 'In truth this form of composition is no more than a child's plaything and men of letters do not class such things among *murabba'* (verses written in a doubled metre),

Whose praises are sung by all those who have attained
perfection;
India has been conquered merely by thy footstep within her
bounds,
Thy title is, MUḤAMMAD HINDĀL!"

Mir 'Abdul Ḥayy, who also had a childish nature, wrote, in
reply, the following quatrain :—

"O thou, at whose door a thousand monarchs like Cæsar hold
their crowns,
Whose praises exercise their tongues evening and morning!
May all the confines of the world, O Lord,
Be under the sway of the king of the world, MUḤAMMAD
AKBAR!"

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LXXXVI. 'ITĀBL.¹

He is Sayyid Muḥammad of Najaf who made a name in the
Dakan² and came to Ilāhābād and paid his respects to the
emperor. He was very unconventional in all outward observances
and was bold and slovenly. It was reported to the emperor that
he had written a satire in the Dakan on Shāh Fathullāh,³ and
when he was questioned on this point he denied that he had done
so, saying, 'In that country I would have taken no notice of a

nor are they mentioned as such in the *Majma'-uṣ-Ṣanā'i'*, nor in the *Haft
Qulzum*, for any four hemistichs might be written in this form.' The editor
of the text apparently resents the application by Badāoni of the term
murabba' ('in the form of a square') to these quatrains, but Badāoni
evidently did not intend to say that these quatrains belonged to the class of
compositions technically known as *murabba'*, but merely that they were
written in the form of a square. The MSS. omit the first syllable of each
hemistich.

¹ Thus described in the *Āin* (i, 588), 'He possesses harmony of thought,
but his mind is unsettled, and he lives a disorderly life,' and thus in the
Ṭabaqāt, 'He came from foreign parts to India and owing to his ill-regulated
disposition he was imprisoned for two years in Gwāliyār, and was at last
pardoned by the natural clemency of the emperor.'

² Probably in Bījāpūr.

³ Vide p. 216.

man of that sort.' This remark increased the suspicion that he had written the satire and he was imprisoned, and it was ordered that all his papers should be examined in Fathpūr in order that it might be discovered, whether he had written satires on anybody while he was in Hindūstān. Some incriminating papers were discovered, and he remained in prison in Gwāliyār for ten¹ years until at length he was pardoned at the intercession of the eldest prince and other courtiers, and was summoned to Lāhor, but he still retained his evil disposition.

One day he came to the house of Qāzī Ḥasan of Qazvin,² who has the title of *Khān*, and the doorkeeper opposed his entering. 'Itābī grappled with him, entered the assembly, which was a party of friends who had sat down to food, and said to Qāzī Ḥasan, 'It was this food, that led you to cause your door to be shut in the face of a learned man, a foreigner, and you have a perfect right (to keep your food to yourself).' In spite of all that the master of the house and his guests could do in the way of excusing themselves, saying that the doorkeeper had not recognized him, 'Itābī would not be appeased, and refused to sit down and eat. He had great skill in writing Persian and Arabic poetry, also in penmanship and in prose composition. He has composed a *dīrān*. The following couplets are by him :—

"We have scorched our wise hearts in the furnace of desire,

"We have burnt the lamp of the *Ka'bah* at the door of the
idol-temple."

"We have given thee permission to shed this innocent blood, 276
We have given it to thee verbally, in writing, and under a
formal attestation."

"We swear by thy honour that we are the nightingales of
this meadow,

¹ Two years according to the *Tabaqāt*, vide n. 9.

² He served in Gujarāt in A.D. 1537, and later in the siege of Asīrgharh.
Vide *Āin-i-Akbarī* i, 493.

That the rose has bloomed and we know not where the garden is."

"In thy country the name of faithfulness causes weeping,
Both the messenger, and the letter which he bears cause,
each separately, weeping.

"The drum of thy munificence sounds loudly, but I can find
no way to the sun (of the assembly).

This special custom and public assembly of thine will kill
me."¹

"I have left thy street, besmirched with accusations;
I brought to it chastity, and I leave it defiled with sin.
May the black night of thy locks be pleased with the
multitude of hearts (offered to it)

While I stray, miserable, from thy street.

The fountain of Khizr² prides itself on receiving the dust
of my feet

While I go, thirstier than ever, from the dimple in thy
chin.

Sugar was poured out at each door at which I knocked,
thou wouldst think

That I had been to beg from that laughing lip.

I knocked at the door of the seventy-two sects of Islām,
and from the door of despair

I turned, hopeless of help from either fire-worshipper or
Musalmān."

"In my impatience, 'Itābi, I resolved to part from her, and
now

Each time the thought of her enters my heart I weep unrestrainedly."

¹ That is to say the loved one's custom of holding public levées, having previously given notice of them.

² The fountain of the water of life,

A quatrain.

"In the love of thy face I have lost both learning and sense. 277
 But what of these? I have lost my very soul
 In following thee, whatever I had at the end of my life
 Have I lost, and yet I have lost all evil."

"It would not be wonderful if from the atmosphere of thy
 face.

And from the heated iron of my heart, a film should form
 on the mirror."

After his release from confinement he was given a sum of a thousand rupees for travelling expenses and was placed under the charge of Qilij Khān,¹ who was ordered to send him off from the port of Sūrat on a pilgrimage to the Hijāz, but on the way to Sūrat he escaped and fled into the Dakan, where he took refuge with the rulers of the country, and there he still wanders about in the condition in which he formerly was.

LXXXVII. 'UBAIDĪ.²

He is a youth recently come to man's estate. He wrote the following couplet:—

"The reward for pain which is not worthy of my asking
 after it
 Is a glance to ask for which I am unworthy."

This couplet for some time raised a great stir (among lovers of poetry) on every side in Lāhor, and on this account Ḥakīm Abū-'l-Faṭḥ Gilānī³ was loud in 'Ubaidī's praises, and presented him to the emperor. When he was asked to write more poetry he did not continue a poem on the lines of this couplet, but wrote some

¹ A commander of four thousand and governor of the fort of Sūrat. He was made governor of the fort when Akbar, after a siege of forty-seven days, took it. His daughter married Akbar's youngest son, Sulṭān Dāniyāl.

² 'Ubaidī is not mentioned as a poet in the *Ā'in*, nor in the *Tabaqāt*

³ Vide p. 233.

pessimistic verses which obtained no recognition, and since then he has disappeared, like all traces of his poetry.

LXXXVIII. 'ISHQĪ KHĀN.'

He is descended from some of the religious leaders of the Turks. He is acquainted with book-keeping, and was for some time accountant-general to the imperial government. He has a *divān* 278 full of long and short odes. One day in Lāhor he represented that he wished to present the emperor with a complete copy of his works, and at the same time to recite before him a long ode and a short ode which he had just composed. As his poetry was known to be ridiculous, the emperor told him to keep the two odes by him and to insert them in the complete copy of his works when he should present it, in order that all his poems might be heard at one reading. He composed a long *maṣnavī*, like the *maṣnavī* of *Khanjar Beg*, which has already been mentioned. This couplet occurs in it,

"I am mean, of no consideration, and ugly ;

What a plague of a contemptible mannikin am I."

Rahmān Qulī Sultān, his son, had skill in composing chronograms, and wrote this hemistich as a posy for his seal.

"The slave Rahmān Qulī Sultān, the son of 'Ishqī Khān."

(The author adds)

"How should that ingenious man have a worthless son."

Since in this selection I have imposed upon myself the duty of quoting, just as it was written, the poetry of all the poets of the age without any distinction, and most of whatever I found in my sources of information, whether melodious or inelegant, has been reproduced, I have, of necessity, quoted some of the verses of 'Ishqī Khān, in order to show no unreasonable preference. And, in truth, the responsibility rests with Mir 'Alā-ud-daulah,² not with the author. The following couplets are his :—

¹ In the *Āin* (i, 528) he is called Maulānā 'Ishqī. He came from Ghaznī.

² Mir 'Alā-ud-daulah seems to have helped Badāonī in selecting verse to be quoted.

"The reflection of thy eye, heavy with the drowsiness of wine,¹ has fallen on the wine,
Like a drunkard who, in his drunkenness, falls into the water."

"The bud, in desire of thy lip, smiled not at the breath of the morning,
But in order to see thy face opened the eye of its heart." 279

"As I write my letter to thee the paper is wet with my tears,
I weep in jealousy of the pen which writes thy name on the paper."²

He was, at all events, a mild and dignified man, of old-fashioned manners. He has now wholly accepted the *Šūfī* doctrine of annihilation, and is become an old man nearing actual annihilation.

LXXXIX. 'ILMĪ.³

He was entitled Mir Murtaẓā and was descended of the Sayyids of Dūghalbād.⁴ He was one of the most trusted officers of the *Khānzamān*, and for some time held possession of Badāon. He was endowed with learning and accomplishments and was immoderately fond of jesting. When *Hijāz*⁵ *Khān*, one of the chief

¹ A drowsy or languid appearance of the eye is held by orientals to be attractive.

² Badāonī seems to have had a very poor opinion of 'Ishqī's poetry : but the examples here quoted are at least up to the standard of most of the verses quoted by him.

³ 'Ilmī is not mentioned as a poet in the *Āin*, or in the *Tabaqāt*.

⁴ درغلباد in the text, with a variant, دوعات (Dū'āt), in a foot-note. MS. (11) has دوغانباد (Dūghābād). I have not been able to identify this place, the name of which has evidently puzzled the scribes.

⁵ Thus in both MSS. The text has حهجاز (Ḥahjāz) or جهجاز (Jāhjaz), names which I cannot identify. The reading of the MSS. appears to me to be better than that of the text.

men of Badāon, who wrote poetry under the name of Zāhid, recited, from the *maṣnavī* which he had written on the phrase 'In the name of God,' the following couplet:—

"When the crenellations of the letter *ṣīn*¹ began to laugh
The letter laughed so as to show its gums."

The Mīr said, "What are 'the crenellations of the letter *ṣīn*?'
The doors and the walls are laughing at your verse."

Sometimes from the sprightliness of his nature he would occupy himself by writing poetry.

The following couplet is his:—

"O heart, all night the street dog gets no sleep .
From thy cries and lamentation and wailing."

XC. MİR 'AZIZU-'ILLĀH.²

He came of the Saifi Sayyids of Qazvin³ and in book-keeping
280 and penmanship he came first among accountants and scribes, and he also had some proficiency in those branches of learning which are not treated of in Arabic literature. He was for some time a *dīvān-i-sa'ādat*,⁴ and when *Karoris*⁵ were appointed throughout

¹ The poet evidently means, by this expression, the points of the letter *ṣīn* (س) at the head of the small loops, commonly called the 'teeth' of the letter. Hence the expression 'laughed so as to show its gums' (بن دندان) or, literally, 'the roots of its teeth.' *Ṣīn* is the second letter of the Arabic phrase. 'In the name of God,' as usually written. The verse is sufficiently absurd, but the critic's own verse is not much better.

² Mīr 'Azizu-'illāh is not mentioned in the *Āin*.

³ The Saifi Sayyids of Qazvin were Sunnis, and suffered some persecution in Persia on account of their religious belief.

⁴ The *dīvān-i-sa'ādat* was clerk to the *Ṣadr*, vide p. 378, n. 2.

⁵ *Karoris* were revenue officers placed each over a tract of country which paid annually a *karōr* of dāms (1,00,00,000 dāms = Rs. 2,50,000) to the imperial treasury. Vide *Āin-i-Akbarī*, i, 13. They were first appointed in A.D. 1574-75 and each *karōrī* was obliged to give security for his good behaviour. Notwithstanding this they were grossly extortionate and depopulated large tracts by their exactions. Many of them were called to account and perished under scourging and torture or lived miserably in

the empire of Hindūstān he, having with much trouble collected five *karors* (of dāms)¹ from the Sambhal district, was appointed to the administrative and revenue charge of that district,² and at last he was for several years under suspension, engaged in rendering accounts to the *dīvān* and his honour was changed to disgrace, and he was subjected to torture, and suffered much, and he surrendered all that he had, even to the uttermost farthing,³ to the imperial treasury, and, after surrendering all his possessions, surrendered his life with them. He composed a *dīvān* of short odes, a poem in praise of the people of his town,⁴ a poem on roses and wine, and many other treatises in verse, but his poetry is all in the style of the poets of the time of Sultān Ḥusain Mirzā,⁵ and most of the works which I have named are in that style. The following verses are his :—

“ The fresh dawn has sprung from her ruby lip with moisture
and splendour,
For she ever drinks water from the fountain of the sun.”

jail till death ended their sufferings. Badāonī says that they lived for one year in luxury as *karoris* and paid for it with their lives or by dragging on a miserable existence ever afterwards. *Vide* Badāonī, vol. ii, text, p. 189.

1 Rs. 1,250,000. The meaning of the passage is that Mīr ‘Azīzu-llāh extorted this sum from the people of the Sambhal district in order to pay for the appointment of revenue administrator of the district. As this large sum was over and above the revenue which the people had to pay to government and as ‘Azīzu-llāh’s habits of extortion probably grew upon him, it is not surprising that he was called to account.

2 The text has صوبہ (sūbah) ‘province,’ but it is improbable that Mīr ‘Azīzu-llāh was placed in charge of the whole of the province of Dihlī, in which Sambhal was situated. It is more probable that he had charge of the *tarkār* or revenue district of Sambhal, which was a sufficiently important charge, paying in annual revenue, Rs. 16,73,536, not reckoning *ayūrghāh*.

3 Literally ‘all that he had and had not,’ an expressive phrase which may perhaps be taken to mean that he had to surrender all his property and promise to deliver whatever property he might acquire in the future.

4 شہر آشوب (shahr-ashūb) ‘town-disturbing.’ A poem written in praise of disparagement of the people of a town.

5 King of Khurāsān, A.D. 1470—1505. He was descended from ‘U

Ṣaykh Muzā, second son of Tīmūr.

"I am thus fallen in the road of grief and toil like rubbish,
Perchance some breeze of thy favour and grace will raise
me from the dust."

"O Lord, I am distracted by the multitude of my sins,
Show me some mercy, for I am heavily weighed down by
my sins.

I have grief in plenty, boundless sorrow, but no comforter.
How shall I make friends for myself? I am heavily
afflicted."

It is evident that he composed these last few verses while
he was in prison.

XCI. Mīrzā 'Azīz K̲h̲ān.¹

He is entitled A'zam K̲h̲ān, and is well known for his good
281 breeding, and for his varied accomplishments and gifts, and there
is no other *amīr* who is regarded as his equal in depth of under-
standing or in capacity. As he used formerly, now and again,
but rarely, to make trial of his ability in the composition of verse,
the following few verses of his are quoted, in order that these
memoirs may not be destitute of all mention of him.

"Since honour and reputation prevented me from obtaining
the desire of my heart,

I will henceforward shatter my reputation with a stone."

He also wrote an illuminated copy of an ode composed by
himself, the opening couplet of which was this:—

"O thou, whose curled lock is the fetter of my heart,
The love of whom is mingled with all the elements of my
body!"

¹ Son of Anaga K̲h̲ān and Jī Jī Anaga, and foster-brother of Akbar. He
received the title of A'zam K̲h̲ān in A.D. 1550, after his father's death, and
was at the same time made a commander of five thousand. His daughter
married Murād, Akbar's fourth son. Mīrzā 'Azīz died in A.D. 1623-24 at
Aḥmadābad. He was remarkable for his ease of address, intelligence, and
knowledge of history. Vide *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 325.

The following couplets are also by him :—

“ The affairs of the world have no stability,
It is better that my heart should be withdrawn from the
affairs of the world.”

“ My heart is sick with the pain and grief of loneliness,
O physician of the sick heart, what dost thou prescribe ?”

“ My grief-worn heart has become dust in the road of fidelity;
See, my faithless love, the way of those who humble them-
selves to the dust.”¹

He laid out a splendid garden in Agra, and in it built a garden-house adorned with paintings, and composed this quatrain for an inscription on the building :—

“ O Lord, by the purity of heart of men of discernment,
Which is dearer to Thee than all other things,
Since this house has, by Thy grace, been completed,
Of thy favour send me honoured guests !”

There are in the world many records of his doings, one of which relates the story of his high-spirited departure on pilgrimage to Makkah, and of his return in a different frame of mind, —one of the inevitable consequences of these evil days.² 282

¹ The text has خاكساري (*Khāksārī*) ‘humility.’ MS. (A) has خاكساران (*Khāksārān*) which is better.

² In A.D. 1001 (A.D. 1593) Mīrzā ‘Azīz, who had been absent from court for six years, was summoned from Gujarāt by Akbar. The Mīrzā, then a good Muslimān, had been much alarmed by the religious freaks with which Akbar had inaugurated the millennium in the previous year and on receiving the summons fled to Din on April 3, 1593, and departed thence on pilgrimage to Makkah. Here he remained for some time, and was so plundered in the name of religion that this zeal for Islam cooled. He returned to India in A.D. 1594-95, was favourably received by Akbar, and became a member of Akbar’s new religion, ‘the divine faith.’ The orthodox Badāonī here dismisses the subject very curtly. Vide vol. ii, text, pp. 387, 398, and *Ain-i-Akbarī*, i, 327.

XCII. 'AHDĪ OF SHIRAZ.¹

He has written different kinds of poetry, both long and short odes. He was for some time in Gujarāt with Mirzā Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad. When he came to Dihli, after the deposition of Qāzī Muḥammad, who was a fanatical Shi'ah and an evil liver, the late Ḥakīm 'Ain-ul-Mulk² in Lāhor besought the *Ṣadrs*³ to appoint Mullā 'Ahdī to the *Qāzī*-ship, and by way of an anticipatory omen found the words *Qāzī 'Ahdī*⁴ to give the date of his imaginary *qāzī*-ship, but it was all of no avail and resembled the story of an imaginary man riding an imaginary horse in an imaginary plain and playing polo with an imaginary stick and an imaginary ball. 'Ahdī then went with the Ḥakīm to the Dakan, and nothing is known of him after the Ḥakīm's death, neither what happened to him nor whither he went.

The following verses are by him :—

A quatrain.

“ Though the lip of my complaint was wet with blood,
The smoke from my heart arose from the chimney of my
eyes,
My tears rained down sparks and fire,
My sighs kindled and became like a burning coal.”

At the time when Ḥakīm 'Ain-ul-Mulk departed from Lāhor and also (after a short time) from this world of wickedness and strife, the following quatrain, attributed to Ḥakīm Ṣanā'ī, was discussed :—

“ Breathe once more, for thy Beloved is near thee,
And the bird of thy desire is near to the cage.
How long wilt thou say, ' I am far from my Beloved ? '
Look within thyself, for the Friend is very near thee.”⁵

¹ 'Ahdī is mentioned neither in the *Āin* nor in the *Ṭabaqāt*.

² *Vide* p. 229.

³ *Vide* p. 122, note 2.

⁴ قاضي عهدي The sum of the letters gives the date A.H. 1000 (A.D. 1591-92).

⁵ This is a *Ṣūfī*-istic quatrain. Cf. St. Augustine, “ *Ego multum erravi quaerens Te extra me, et Tu habitas in me.*”

Mahvī composed the following quatrain :—

“Mahvī, whose heart is near to all men,
Is near to the bud of the garden and to its thorns and
rubbish.
For this reason he was not repulsed from the litter of the
beloved,
That the sound of his weeping resembles the sound of its
bell.”

Ḥakīm ‘Ain-ul-Mulk composed the following in answer to both
quatrains :—

“Since thy Beloved is near thee every moment,
Beware, for thy fire is near the dry grass !
O thou who hast fallen behind thy companions and lost the
way
Hasten, for the sound of the caravan’s bell is near.”

Mullā ‘Abdī composed the following quatrain and also wrote it,
as a keepsake, in my common-place book, and our companionship
in prayer was changed for separation :

“The freedom of this caged bird is near at hand,
And this flame is near to the thorns and stubble,
Grief would fly from me with a thousand wings and pinions,
Did it but know with whom it consorted.”

I wonder at my own hardness of heart seeing that I am able to
sit and beat my breast with a stone in the absence of so many
friends.

XCIII. ‘INĀYATU-‘LLĀH THE SCRIBE.’

He is a Shirāzī, and is now employed in the imperial library as 284
a librarian. He has a merry and nimble wit and occasionally
writes poetry. The following verses are his :—

“I am fallen, like a helpless bird, into the cage
My broken heart is like a soundless bell.
Though I am more contemptible than an ant or a fly
I am suffocated by the straitness of the two worlds.”

1 ‘Ināyat-u-‘llāh is not mentioned in the *Āīn*, nor in the *Ṭabaqāt*.

Another quatrain.

"We have learnt the way to a cure for ourselves,
 We have heaped up the harvest of our transgressions,
 We have kindled the fire of hell for ourselves,
 We have consumed ourselves with the fire of our own sins."

Another quatrain.

"So long as the locks of the beautiful curl,
 So long as the gestures and gait of the lovely are alluring,
 So long as the arrow of the glance is in the brow of cruelty,
 I die and live again each moment."

A couplet.

"There is no rose in the rose-garden of this world which is
 not tinged with the blood of some nightingale."
 In describing a horse he has written :
 "From his great pace as he gallops, his limbs
 Close on one another like drops of water flowing together."

XCIV. 'URFĪ OF SHĪRĀZ.¹

He was a high-minded young man of sound understanding and he composed poetry of all kinds well, but he became so puffed up

¹ He is thus described in the *Īn* (i, 569), 'Thò forehead of his diction shines with decorum, and possesses a peculiar grace. Self-admiration led him to vanity, and made him speak lightly of the older classics. The bud of his merits withered away before it could develop itself.' In the *Tubaqāt* he is mentioned as follows: 'He was a young man of genius and of excellent understanding, and composed all sorts of poetry well, but he developed so much pride and conceit that he lost the regard of all. He has composed a *dirāz* and some *magnavīs*.' He was the encomiast of Ḥakīm Abū'l-Fath. That his poetry was highly regarded is evident from the following couplet by the great Persian poet Šā'ib, written on Naẓirī:—

صائب چه خیالست شوی همچو نظیری عرفی بنظیری نرسانید سخن را

'Šā'ib, what dost thou think? Canst thou become like Naẓirī?

Even 'Urfī has not written poetry like Naẓirī's."

'Urfī's name was Khwāja Sayyidī Muḥammad Jamāl-ud-dīn, and his *tukhallas* has reference to the occupation of his father, who, as *dārogha* to

with pride and conceit that he lost the regard of all, and he never reached old age. When he first came from his country to Fath-pūr he attached himself to Shaiḵh Faizī above all others, and in truth, the Shaiḵh treated him well, and in this last journey he lived in the Shaiḵh's tents until the camp reached Atak, and was supplied with all the necessities of life by the Shaiḵh, but at length, in accordance with the long-standing habit of the Shaiḵh, who is friendly with everybody for a week, a coolness sprang up between them, and 'Urfi attached himself to Ḥakīm Abū-'l-Fath, and afterwards, by means of a recommendation which he received from the Ḥakīm, to the Khānkhānān, with whom both his poetry and the esteem in which he was held made great progress daily. One day he went to Shaiḵh Faizī's house and found him fondling a puppy. 'Urfi asked, "What is the name of this child of my lord's?" The Shaiḵh replied, "His name is well-known ('Urfi)", and 'Urfi replied at once, "May it be auspicious."¹ The Shaiḵh was very angry, but to no purpose.

Both 'Urfi and Ḥusain Ṣanā'i - have wonderful good fortune with their poetry, for there is no street or market in which the booksellers do not stand at the roadside selling copies of the *diwāns* of these two poets, and both Persians and Indians buy them as auspicious possessions, while it is quite otherwise with Shaiḵh Faizī, who has spent large sums from his *jāgīrs* in having

the magistrate of *Shirāz*, was concerned both with the canon (شرعی) and the common (عرفی) law. He died at Lāhor in August, 1591, of dysentery, or, according to another account, of poison, at the age of thirty-six. His early death was ascribed to the abuse which he had heaped on the ancients. His odes have been several times lithographed.

¹ 'Urfi's question is not quite so pointed in the original Persian, and might be rendered, 'What is the name of this highly-born one?' But the innuendo is perfectly clear. Faizī replies by giving 'Urfi's *nom-de-plume* to the ancient animal. 'Urfi's retort is one of the commonest expressions of politeness, but its mordant wit cannot be reproduced in a translation. In the original it is مبارک باشد (*mubārak bāshād*), i.e. 'may it be auspicious' or 'may it be *Mubārak*'. *Mubārak* was the name of Faizī's father. Faizī should have known better than to measure his wit with that of a Shirāzī.

² Vide no. XXXI.

his works copied¹ and illuminated, and nobody asks for them, the only copy for which he has had any sale being the solitary one which he himself sent abroad.

'The power of pleasing and grace of diction are gifts of God.'

'Urfi has a *divān* of his collected poems, and a *maṣnavī* in the metre of the *Makhzan-i-Asrār*² which is known throughout the 286 world. The following few verses are quoted as a memorial of 'Urfi :—

A quatrain.

"On the morrow, when the workers of every craft shall be summoned,

When the good acts of Shaiḫ and Brahman shall be investigated,

There shall be taken from thee not a grain that thou hast reaped,

But for everything that thou hast not sown a harvest shall be required."

The following couplets are by him :—

"He who thirsts for the blandishments of thy lip knows
That the frown on thy forehead is a wave of the water of life."

"Nobody has been born who can bear the pain of love;
Every afflicted one has betrayed himself by changing colour
as he told his story."

"As I sing of love I weep bitterly,
I am but an ignorant child and this is my first lesson."

¹ The text has کتّاب (*kitāb*). The MSS., which I have followed, have کتّابت (*kitābat*), which is a better reading.

² مخزن اسرار, 'treasury of secrets.' The famous *makhzan-i-Asrār* here mentioned was by the well-known Persian poet Shaiḫ Abū Muḥammad Ilyās Niẓāmī of Ganja. 'Urfi's *maṣnavī* bore the same name.

"Step not beyond the bounds of ignorance, or else become a
Plato,
A middle course is a *mirage* with raging thirst."¹

The opening couplet of the ode from which the last couplet is taken is as follows :—

"My conversation in society consists of muttered speeches,
For here those reputed sensible are ignorant, and my speech
is Arabic."

The following couplets are also by him :—

"How shall I endure my desire for my beloved, for, by the
laws of love
A mere glance is disrespect and a thought of the beloved is
derogatory to her."

"Of what pain has it been decreed by Time that I should
die,
That the eyes of my soul have not gone forth to welcome?"

"I speak no word, for silence is better than speech, 287
I have no knowledge, for oblivion is better than knowledge."

"The *Ka'bah* would have circled round thy head and circum-
volated² it
Had it had but pinions and wings"

¹ Cf. Pope—

A little learning is a dangerous thing ;
Drink deep, or taste not the Pierian spring ;
Here, shallow draughts intoxicate the brain,
But drinking deeply sobers it again."

² A clumsy word, but necessitated by the suggestion that the temple at *Makkah* should be endued with wings. The idea is that the ceremonial circumambulation performed by the pilgrims round the *Ka'bah* would be performed by the *Ka'bah* round the head of the beloved. Vide p. 19, n. 4.

XCV. GHIAZNAVĪ.¹

He is Mir Muḥammad Khān-i-Kalān, who is well-known by reason of his high rank and position. His assemblies were always attended by learned men and poets. In spite of his constant employment in administrative business he found time occasionally to indulge in the customary recreation of writing verses, and collected a large *diwān* of his poems. He used to say to the Emperor, 'The boast of your reign is this, that a man like me has lived in it.'

The following verses are his :—

"In my youth the flower of my age was passed in ignorance,
And what was left of it has been passed in repentance.
Young man, thou hast sown nothing but the seed of despair
in the world,
Now the season of old age is come, and the time for tillage
is past."

"Go Ghiaznawī, associate with the dogs of the beloved,
Be content with a dry crust and make thyself independent
of the world,
Take the crown of pride from thy head and pass beyond
the stage of 'wo' and 'I,'²

¹ The elder brother of Shams-ud-dīn Muḥammad Ataq, A'zam Khān. He served under Kāmran and Humāyūn and rose to high dignity during the reign of Akbar. As governor of the Panjāb he distinguished himself in the war with the Gakkhara. Later he assisted Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm of Kābul against Mirzā Sulaimān and restored him to the throne of Kābul, but disagreements afterwards arose and Mir Muḥammad returned to Lāhor. In the 13th year he and his relatives were removed from the Panjāb and he received Sambhal in *jāgīr*. In 1573 he was sent by Akbar in advance, for the reconquest of Gujrat. On the march he was wounded near Sirohī, but recovered. After the conquest he was made governor of Patan (Nahrwān) where he died in 1575. He was a commander of five thousand. *Vide Ain-i-Akbarī*, i, 322 and Baḥārūn, text, li, 165 *et passim*.

² *i.e.* egoism.

Overthrow (in thy mind) the foundations of the kingdom of this world, like Ibrāhīm, the son of Adham.¹

Withdraw thy notice from thyself and thy friends that thou may be at rest,

And if even the light of thy eyes should meet thee in the way, turn aside.

When he was governor of Sambhal he gave great rogue to the following ode of Shaikh Sa'di² (may his tomb be hallowed):— 288

“The heart which loves and is patient must surely be a stone,

For love and patience are a thousand leagues apart.”

He himself wrote as follows:—

“When the cupbearer's cheek is rosy with wine,

Drink wine to the sound of the flute, for the heart is sad.”

Mir Amānī and other poets composed answers to these verses, in imitation of them, each according to his capacity and frame of mind, and one of them, the late Jamāl Khān of Badāon, who was a constant and intimate companion of the Khān, and was unrivalled in wit, composed an ode of which the following was the opening couplet,

“Thy cheek is ever rosy with the wine of delight,

My heart, like a closed bud, is constricted with grief in meditating on thy mouth.”

When I was in Kānt-u-Gola³ in the service of Husain Khān⁴ this ode reached me one night in a letter from Miẓān Jamāl

¹ I do not understand this reference. It cannot have anything to do with Adham Khān, the murderer of Mir Muḥammad's brother.

² Musharrif-ud-dīn Sa'di bin Muṣṭafī-ud-dīn, of Shīrāz, one of the most famous of Per-sian poets

³ Two adjacent *puranas* in the *Sarkār* of Badāon, usually mentioned together. Vide *Īn-i-Aẓbarī* ii, 289.

⁴ Husain Khān *Tukriya* ('the picher'—the Bayard and Don Quixote of Akbar's reign.) He acquired his nicknames from his having, while governor of the Panjab, compelled Hindūs to distinguish themselves by wearing a patch near the shoulders. He was a commander of three thousand. He died, of wounds, in A.D. 1575.

Khān and the next morning news came that he had been seized with colic in the place of public prayer in Sambhal on the 'Īd-i-Qurbān,¹ and had sickened suddenly, and in the flower of his youth had surrendered his soul to God. His bier was brought into Badāon. Some mention has been made of this event in the record of the reign,² and besides (the chronograms there given)³ the words 'Ah, Jamāl Khān has died!' were found to give the date of his death.

In these days⁴ whom have the heavens seated in safety

Whose existence they did not cut short like the morning's light?

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XCVI. Ghubārī.⁵

He is Qāsim 'Alī, son of Ḥaidar the grocer, and was notorious for his pride and groundless vanity. He used to call himself a Quraishī⁶ until it became generally accepted that anybody who had no descent whatever to boast of claimed connection with the Quraish. Whenever he was ashamed of the arrival of his father in any social gathering and lost his temper his father used to say,

1 The festival of sacrifice, otherwise called عيد الفصح (īd-ud-ḡuḥā) celebrated on the tenth day of Zī-'l Ḥijjah in commemoration of Abraham's preparations for the sacrifice of Ishmael (not Isaac, according to the Muḥammadans).

2 Vide vol. ii, text, p. 135.

3 The other chronograms are—

صد آه از جوانی و زیب جمال خان

and 'a hundred sighs for the beauty and grace of Jamāl Khān'

سپرده جان بروز عید قربان

'He gave up his life on the day of the festival of sacrifice'

The one here given is آه جمال خان بمرد

There is something wrong with these chronograms. The first gives the date 923, the second the date 967, and the third the date 977. The correct date is A.D. 978 (A.D. 1578).

4 The text has آفتاب ('the sun'). I follow the reading of MS. (A) which has این زمانه, a much better reading.

Ghubārī is mentioned neither in the *Āin* nor in the *Tabaqāt*.

The Quraish is the Arabian tribe to which Muḥammad belonged.

'To spite you I will sit in the shop which I have in Agra, selling fruit and electuaries, and to everybody who comes to the shop, whether he questions me or not, I will say, 'Let it be known that Qāsim 'Alī is my son, begotten by me. You may kill him if you like.' "

Somebody asked Haidar how many sons he had; he replied, "Eight, the particulars are as follows:—

"Two are mine, and two are my wife's, and two belong to us both;

Two others there are which belong neither to my wife nor to me." ¹

Qāsim 'Alī was in his youth very handsome, and used to sing at social gatherings, and was then for some time servant² to the *Khalīfah* of the age (Akbar), became a man of some importance, and acquired the title of *Khān*,³ and this case was an illustration of the remark made by a man when another said to him, "Have you heard that they have made so and so a Khan?" and he replied, "Well, the mannikin deserved it."

His manner of forming his letters and his handwriting were like those of the master of the world.⁴ His unformed hand and his ill-formed letters are like those of boys, but in spite of that hand and those letters he has a childish confidence in himself.⁵

¹ i.e. Haidar had two sons by another wife and his wife had two sons by another husband, and they had two dutiful sons of their marriage, and two more who were ashamed of their parents, and of whom their parents were ashamed.

² Literally, '*Khalīfah* to the *Khalīfah* of the age.' In India the word *Khalīfah* is applied to cooks and other menial servants. Badāonī's innuendo is susceptible of a very ill meaning.

³ I do not think that *Ghubārī* can be the Qāsim 'Alī *Khān* mentioned on p. 435 of the *Āin* (vol. i.) but he may have been.

⁴ Scil. Akbar. As Badāonī is making a slighting remark on the Emperor's accomplishments he applies to him an unusual and ambiguous title, *آقلى جهان*.

⁵ The words 'hand,' 'letters,' and 'confidence' are, in the original, diminutives which cannot be otherwise 'translated than by employing some such qualifying adjectives as I have used.

During my twenty-one years' acquaintance with Ghubārī he has been constantly engaged in taking lessons in (what may be called) the middle standard,¹ and he used to compel his teachers to make obeisance to him, and if they did not consent to do so he would not come for his lesson, and in the lessons received under these unfortunate conditions he never progressed beyond the elements of accident.² His taste in poetry may be estimated from the following verses:—

"I love water, and the bath is my place.

The bath-house is the house which is appropriated to me."

In imitation of the opening couplet which runs,

"I wish for one hair from the curled lock of my love.

That is to say, I am an idolator, and I wish for a sacred thread."

He wrote the following:—

"I wish to explain my grief to the dog of my love.

That is to say, I am grieved, and I wish to explain my grief."

The following verses are also by him:—

"From her eyes nothing but calamity reaches me.

Nobody has ever such calamity."

A quatrain.

"Everybody who is afflicted by love

Becomes acquainted with toil and grief:

Everybody who has found his way into love's circle

Revolves around calamity like a pair of compasses."

Ghubārī departed from this world, very unwillingly, in A.H. 1000 (A.D. 1591-92), and the chronogram found for his death consisted of the words, "Qāsim 'Alī Khān the fool."³ Accord-

¹ سبق مدرست (Sābiq-i-madrassat) lessons learnt by boys not just learning to read and write, but in the middle classes in schools.

² رَفَعَ لِمَعْنَى مَقْرَدٍ "It is singular in meaning."

قاسم علي خان ١٠٠٠. The letters give the date 1000.

ing to another account the year of his death was A.H. 1001 (A.D. 1592-93), and if this be accepted as correct the word *jāhil* ('ignorant') substituted for the word *ab'ah* ('fool') will give the correct date.¹ 291

Since thou art ignorant grieve not if they call thee fool,
For these two expressions are² synonymous.

XC VII. GHURBATI OR HISĀR.³

He has composed a *dirān* and has studied to some extent. He used to tell the following story:—

I was once in an assembly convened for the ecstatic dancing⁴ of *Jarrich's* by that king of saints and greatest⁵ of pious men, Shaikh Husin of Khiwārazm (may God hallow his soul), and the chanters were chanting the following quatrain:—

"Throughout my life I have been one of those who wear my
skin as Thy garment,
I am one of that brotherhood who wear the ring of Thy
service in their ears,
If Thou showest me favour I am one of those who shout for
joy of Thee,
And if Thou showest me none I am one of those who are
silent for Thee."

And his holiness the Shaikh, on hearing the last verse, was seized with holy rapture, and an ecstasy that communicated itself to others,⁶ so that I too, blessed by being in his company,

¹ The letters of جاهل ('fool') give the total 38, and those of جاهل ('ignorant') 39. If, therefore, the latter word be substituted for the former in the chronogram given above the grand total will be 1001 instead of 1000.

² The text has عبارت ده نه یکدیگر است. To make sense we must read عبارت ده ده یکدیگر است.

³ Ghurbati is not mentioned as a poet either in the *Āin* or in the *Tabaqāt*. Hiṣr Firūza was the chief town of a *sarkār* in the *ṣūba* of Dihli, and is now the headquarters of a district in the Panjab.

⁴ سماع vide p. 9, and note 1.

⁵ ختم, literally 'seal.'

⁶ تواجد

experienced holy rapture, and, springing up from my place as one beside himself, uttered the following couplet:—

“Whether Thou showest me favour or whether Thou showest it not

I am one of that brotherhood who wear the ring of Thy service in their ears.”

His holiness the Shaikh seized me by the hand and whirled me round with him, and the delight of that moment never leaves my heart.¹

He died in Agra, in the neighbourhood of Shaikh Farid's College, in A.H. 966 (A.D. 1558-59).

The following opening couplet of one of his odes is well known:

“The mouth of my Friend last night told me a secret mystery,

‘I am the fountain of the water of life, and thou knowest it not.’”

292 The following verses are also by him:—

“Why does not fate shed my blood where thou art not?

It would seem that this is beyond the power of fate.”

The words which fell from her lips were brief, and I could not understand them,

The down around her lips is a marginal commentary² brief enough.

In travelling the road of love for thee I arrived at no stage
At which I did not find that the pain of love for thee had preceded me.”

¹ This story gives us an interesting picture of a form of worship which commends itself to the mystics of the East, and which is not without its counterpart in ‘revival meetings’ nearer home, and ‘camp meetings’ in the far West.

² هشاح (*hāshiyah*) means ‘a fringe,’ ‘a margin,’ ‘a marginal commentary,’ but it is impossible in a translation to reproduce the play on this word and on the two meanings of كس (*Khatt*), viz:—‘writing’ and ‘down on the cheek.’

XCVIII. GHAIRATĪ OF SHĪRĀZ.¹

He spent some time in India and returned to Shirāz. The following verses are some of his:—

“I would not consent to the slaying of others, for I know
That death has taken the bitterness of death from the dagger of my executioner.”

“Devotee, the knot in the string of thy rosary cannot be loosed without sincerity:

Go, and for a time convert thy rosary into the sacred thread of the fire-worshippers.”

“A pleasant country is the street of love,
For there all the malice of the heavens is changed to kindness.”

“I am slain by the dagger of that slayer who so shed my blood

That not one drop of it fell on the ground ”

XCIX. FĀRIGHĪ OF SHĪRĀZ.²

He was the brother of Shāh Fathu-'llāh,³ who has already been mentioned. When he came for the first time to Hindūstān Bairam Khān the Khānkhānān asked him, as Fārighī was the poetical name of the well-known Shaiikh 'Abdul Wajid of Khavāf to whom he was closely bound in the bonds of friendship and religious dependence, to change his poetical name to Fā'iqī. He used this name for some time, but when he returned to 'Irāq 293 he reverted to the use of his former *nom-de-plume*. He then came to Hindūstān a second time, and died here. His son, Mīr Taqī, was another Shāh Fathu-'llāh in his knowledge of astronomy and astrology, and I presented to him a part of twenty chapters

¹ The very brief description of Ghairatī given in the Tabaqāt is word for word the same as that given here. In the Āin (i, 594) he is thus described, “His diction is good, and he knows the history of the past ”

² Fārighī is not mentioned as a poet in the Āin. In the Tabaqāt he is thus described, ‘Mīr Fārighī is the brother of Mīr Fathu-'llāh of Shirāz. He was for a long time in the Emperor's service.”

³ Vide p. 216.

which I had written on the astrolabe. He was a man of noble disposition and high aspirations, and his brother, Mir Sharīf, had many excellences and perfections. Mir Taqī used to say that in his family he and his brother, with their uncle, Shāh Fathū-'llāh, were the only ones that held the *Sunnī* faith, all the others being bigoted Shi'ahs. The following verses are by Mir Fāriḡhī :—

“Well is it for me that in accordance with thy promise
happy in my abode of toil

“I sit, glancing ever and again expectantly at the door.”

“To such a point does love at length bring intimate association
with the beloved

That the lover finds himself a stranger to separation.”

“On the humble body of Majnūn no scar was visible;
For the footprint of Lailā's camel was impressed on
him.”

“The festival time has arrived and I am constantly anxious,
Hoping, O Lord, that I may have speech with her, in order
to offer my congratulations.”

“So frequently has the country of my heart been ravaged by
the army of thy love

That the caravan of patience never unfastens its burdens
there.”

“Love's madness can easily unfasten those knots in love's
bonds

Which wisdom, with all its pretensions, cannot, with count-
less efforts, unfasten.”

“Fāriḡhī has girded up his loins in the service of that lovely
one on the condition

That he never, until the day of resurrection, unfastens from
his waist the sacred thread of idolatry.”

“In her absence, O death, I have put up with my life,
But now I can no longer sit patiently waiting for thee.”

The following is the opening couplet of an ode which he wrote in praise of his holiness our sponsor the eighth *Imām*, Riḡā' (blessings and praise be upon him!) :—

"When the money-changer of the recurring morn opened
his shop

He exchanged every copper coin that he had for a piece of
gold."

C. FAHMI OF TIHRÂN.¹

He had travelled much and seen the world. He came to Hindūstān and then returned to his own country. He had some poetical genius. The following verses are his:—

"I wish that the flame of love may so strike my grief-nurturing body

That, while I weep from its burning, water may fall on my
ashes."

"I will give rest to my heart by patiently bearing her message,

Though this (rest) is an impossibility to which I can never
attain."

"Go, speak not of love's burning pain till the last trump
shall sound,

For this world is nothing but a house of mourning."

CI. FAHMI OF SAMARQAND.²

He is the son of Nādiri of Samarqand. He was a jovial man, and expert at composing enigmas. He came to India and then returned again to his own country. The following verses are his:

"Since the tavern-keeper³ described to me the properties
of wine,

My repentance of my repentance passes description."

¹ In the *Tabaqāt* it is recorded that he was with the *Khān-i-A'zam*, but, as no date is given, it is not certain whether the reference is to *Shamsu-d-din Muḥammad Ataga Khān* or to his son *Mirzā 'Aziz Kūka*, both of whom held the title. The latter is probably intended. In the *Āin* (i, 599) *Fahmī* is described as 'of Rai,' but this *Fahmī* is identified as *Fahmī* of *Tihrān* by a couplet ascribed to him by *Abū-'l-Faḡl* which is also ascribed to him by *Daghīstānī* and in the *Tabaqāt*.

² *Fahmī* of *Samarqand* is not mentioned in the *Āin* or in the *Tabaqāt*.

³ Literally, 'the chief priest of the magians.'

"When I saw her dark hair forming a garment round her
body

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I believed it to be the garment of the holy pilgrimage and
wound it round myself."

CII. FIKRĪ.¹

He is Sayyid Muḥammad, the cloth weaver, well known as Mir Rubā'ī. In this description of poetry he is the 'Umar Khayyām of the age. He left this world in the course of the journey to Jaunpūr,² in the year H. 973 (A.D. 1565-66), and the words 'Mir Rubā'ī made a journey,³ were found to give the date of his death.

A quatrain.

"Fikrī has a head which is unfurnished with contents,
He has at his heart a secret pain for which there is no
remedy.
For an age he has made his head his foot on the road of
love,
He has set out on a road which has no ending."

As his verses are very well known I shall conclude by quoting the following few quatrains and a couplet which are attributed to him:—

"O heart, though thy love be a warrior, fear not,
Though her business be oppression and mortal enmity, fear
not,

¹ Fikrī is thus described in the *Zabaqāt*. "He is Sayyid Muḥammad the cloth weaver. He spent many years in the service of the Emperor. He is distinguished for his quatrains, since he was always writing quatrains, and he is also known as Rubā'ī ('quatrain')." In the *Āin* (i, 602) he is thus described: "He is a cloth weaver from Hirāt. He generally composes quatrains." According to the *Haft Iqlīm* he came to India in A.H. 969 (A.D. 1561-62).

² Akbar was directing the campaign against the Khānzamān in the neighbourhood of Jaunpūr during the cold weather of 1565-66. *Vide* vol. ii, text, pp. 82-84.

³ میر و باعی سفر نمود The sum of the numerical values of the letters gives the date 973.

In the army of her beauty her two eyes are warriors,
For the rest, the down on her cheek and her mole are the
dark colour of the host.

"If one will not, like the sun, suffer the sword to be raised
above his head
The sky shall not be clad from head to foot in gold for him :
If the gardener will not endure the hardships of the thorn,
He shall receive into his bosom no loved one in rosy gar-
ments like a bud."

"On the morrow, when nothing shall remain of this world 296
but a tale,
When signs shall appear of the Resurrection's spring,
The beloved ones shall raise their heads from the dust-like
verdure,
And we too shall raise our heads in courtship."

"Thou goest with thy locks dark as night, and like dew on
every side
Salt (wit) rains from thee, alas for wounded hearts !"

CHII. FANĀ'Ī.¹

He is a Caghatāi of noble descent. He has travelled much and has acquired honour by visiting the holy places of pilgrimage (Makkah and Madinah). He has performed notable services in the field and at one time held the title of Khān, but on account of some misconduct he was degraded from that rank. One day

¹ This poet appears to be identical with Shāh Fanā'ī, mentioned in the *Āin* (i, 426) as a commander of one thousand. He served in the conquest of Malwa and fought in the battle of Sīrangpūr against Bāz Bahādur, early in A.D. 1561. The poet Fanā'ī described in the *Ṭabaqāt* is undoubtedly the same person, for the couplet there attributed to him is one of those here, attributed to him by Badāoni, but in the *Ṭabaqāt* he is thus described, 'He is Mullā Khayyār, the goldsmith, who has spent all his life in this court. He was at first in the service of Mirzā 'Askari.' 'Askari Mirzā was one of the brothers of the Emperor Humāyūn, and was consequently Akbar's uncle.

298 Ḥakim,¹ By birth he belongs to the Langāh² clan. It seems probable that he was captured by a soldier in some of the wars in Hindūstān and was placed in the service of the late Emperor, and was then brought up with Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakim. He is somewhat studious, in a desultory manner, and is moderately skilled in penmanship. He has a general knowledgo of music, and can beat the drum after a fashion.³ In body he is well proportioned. He came to court and paid his respects, with Qāzī Khān of Badakhshān, between Jaunpūr and Agra, when the Emperor was returning from his expedition to Patna. Although he does not study assiduously he is naturally somewhat ready in etymology, and it gradually becomes evident that he has understood the whole drift of any stiff argument.

The following verses are his:—

“Thou hast made a stranger the object of thy regard.

What means this?

‘Thou hast cast out the slave from thy regard. What means this?

I have seen nobody in this age to equal thee in beauty and grace.

But thou hast destroyed the value of beauty. What means this?”

— — —

“What remedy is there but death for this sick body?

Go, physician, waste not thy pains on me.”

— — —

Nowadays it is reported that he boasts that he has written answers⁴ to most of the odes in the *divāns* of ancient and modern

¹ King of Kābul, second son of Humāyūn and brother of Akbar.

² An Afghān clan, six members of which ruled in Multān as independent kings for ninety-two years from A.D. 1445. Vide *Āin-i-Akbarī* ii, 334.

³ Badāonī certainly seems to be damning Firūza with faint praise, but playing the drum is more highly regarded in the east than it is in Europe. Drums, which are of several sizes and shapes, are carefully tuned, and are usually played with the fingers and the heel of the hand, with a certain amount of expression.

⁴ An ‘answer’ to a poem is a poem imitating the original in metre and

poets. As to what he has discovered from these sources it may perhaps become more generally known than it is at present.

CVI. FAHMI OF ASTARĀBĀD.

He was a capable man. He died in Dihli. The following quatrain is by him:—

“O thou whose face is bathed in rose water,
 With ringlets curling around it like wreathed violets. 299
 Thy eyes are like two beauties overcome with wine on one
 pillow
 Who have laid their heads together and are fallen asleep.”

Couplets.

“In these days freedom from care has become no more than
 a tale,
 Whither shall I go? What shall I do? The times are
 very evil.”

“The piteous state of the faithful is caused by thy cruelty.
 Remove the sword, for their blood is on thy head.”

CVII. SHAIKH FAIZI, THE POET LAUREATE.¹

In many separate branches of knowledge, such as poetry, the composition of enigmas, prosody, rhyme, history, philology, rhyme, and either elaborating the ideas of the original, or introducing fresh ideas on the same subject.

¹ Literally ملك الشعراء (*maliku-sh-shu'arā*) ‘King of poets,’ the official title given to him by Akbar in A.H. 997 (A.D. 1599).

Shaiikh Abū'l Faiz Faizī, one of the most learned men of Akbar's court, was the eldest son of Shaiikh Mubārak of Nagor, and elder brother of the famous Abū-l-Faḡl. He was born at Āgra in A.H. 954 (A.D. 1547). His acquirements in Arabic literature, the art of poetry, and medicine were very extensive, and he used to treat poor people *gratis*. As a young man he was regarded with suspicion and ill-treated by the orthodox in Āgra on account of his Shī'ah proclivities, and when he was summoned to court the orthodox believed, or affected to believe, that he was to be called to account for his heterodoxy, and carried him to court by force. He was however, very

medicine, and prose composition Shaiikh Faizī had no equal in his time. At first he used to write under his well-known poetical

favourably received by Akbar, and in a short time became his constant companion and friend. He was instrumental, in A.H. 986 (A.D. 1578-79), in bringing about the downfall of Shaiikh 'Abdu-n-Nabī the *Ṣadr*, who had been one of his persecutors. It is said that Faizī wrote a hundred and one books. In 1586 he planned a *Khamsah*, or collection of five epics, in imitation of the *Khamsah* of Nizāmī. The first, *Markazu-l-Adwār*, was to consist of 3000 verses, and was to be an imitation of Nizāmī's *Makhzanu-l-Asrūr*. The *Sulaimān-u-Bilqīs* and the *Nal-u-Daman* were to consist of 4000 verses each and were to be imitations of the *Khusrav-u-Shirin* and the *Lailā-u-Mojnān*; and the *Haft Kishwar* and the *Akbarnāma*, each of 5000 verses, were to correspond with the *Haft Paikar* and the *Sikandarnāma*. This great undertaking was never completed. Portions were written, and in 1594-95 Faizī, encouraged by Akbar, completed the *Nal-u-Daman* and presented a copy to the Emperor. The *Markazu-l-Adwār* appears also to have been completed. Faizī translated from the Sanskrit the *Līlavatī*, a work on arithmetic, and the *Bhāgavad Gītā*. Faizī was sometimes employed as tutor to the Princes, and sometimes acted as an ambassador. He suffered from asthma and died on Ṣafar 10, A.H. 1004 (Oct. 15, 1595). He was a member of Akbar's 'divine faith.' Vide *Āin-i-Akbarī*, i, 490 *et passim* and Budaoni, vol. ii, text, pp. 260 309, 365, *et passim*.

A long description of Faizī as a poet is given in the *Āin* (i, 549) from which I give the following extracts:—'He was a man of cheerful disposition, liberal, active, an early riser. He was a disciple of the Emperor, and was thus at peace with the whole world.* * He wrote for nearly forty years under the name of Faizī, which he afterwards, under divine inspiration, changed to Fayyāzī.* * His excellent manners and habits cast a lustre on his genius.* * He composed many works in Persian and Arabic. Among others he wrote the *Sawāfi'u-l-Ilhām* (vide p. 194 n. 1) * * Genius as he was, he did not care for poetry, and did not frequent the society of wits. He was profound in philosophy.* * The gems of thought in his poems will never be forgotten. In the *Ṭabaqāt* he is thus described, "He is one of the greatest of learned men and Shaiikhs and is much respected for his resignation to the Divine will and for his habits of solitary meditation. He has grown to maturity in the Emperor's service and has been honoured with the title of *Maliku-sh-Shu'arā*. In the art of poetry he is a prodigy, and he has written a work on ethics, entitled *Mawāridu-l-Kilām*, which contains no dotted letters, and he has also written a commentary on the word of God, which contains no dotted letters. It is known as the *Sawāfi'u-l-Ilhām*. His *divān* contains over 15,000 verses and he has written some

name of Faizī, but later, imitating the title of his younger brother, whom the Emperor describes in writing as 'Allāmī' ¹, and in order to glorify himself, he chose a poetical name in the same measure, viz. Fayyāzī, ² but it did not suit him, and one or two months later, having packed up the baggage of this life, he took it from the world with the most bitter regret. He was a master ³ of malevolent activity, idle jests, conceit, pride, and malice, and one epitome of hypocrisy, baseness, dissimulation, love of pomp, arrogance, and ostentation. All Jews, Christians, Hindūs, and fire-worshippers, not to speak of Nizārīs and Sabāhīs, held him in the very highest honour for his heresy, his enmity to the followers of Islām, his reviling of the very fundamental doctrines of our faith, his contemptuous abuse of the noble companions (of the Prophet) and those who came after them, and of holy Shaikhs, both dead and living, and of his unmannerly and contemptuous behaviour towards all learned, pious, and excellent men, both in secret and openly, and both by day and by night. Not content with this he used, despite the sacred faith of Muḥammad (may God bless and assoil him and his family), to regard all forbidden

magnavis. In poetry he is the chief of all poets of the age, and in prose composition, he is alone and unapproachable. In branches of knowledge foreign to the Arabic, and in philosophy, medicine and many other sciences he has much skill. In universality of knowledge he has no equal. I have enjoyed intimate friendship with this most learned man of the time from my childhood up. His gentle disposition is equalled by his cheerfulness. His angelic nature imposes an obligation on all his contemporaries."

¹ عالمي 'my very learned man,' a title bestowed on Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl by Akbar.

² فيض فياني signifies 'abundance'; with the yā-yi-nisbatī added to it, as is usual in a takhallus, it becomes فياني. قيان is an intensive adjective

formed in the same measure as عالم, from the same root, and signifies 'profusely generous.' The yā yi-nisbatī converts it into a takhallus. The letter ي (yā) in 'Allāmī is, on the other hand, the sign of the first (singular) possessive pronoun in Arabic.

³ خيلا (Khayulā). The word has perplexed the editor of the text, who says, in a plaintive footnote, Sic. in all three MSS.

things as lawful, and all the injunctions of the sacred law as unlawful, and, with a view to washing away the stain of his ill-repute, which the waters of a hundred oceans (poured over it) till the day of judgment will not wash away, he used, in the height of his drunkenness, and while he was ceremonially impure,¹ to write a commentary² on the *Qur'ān*, written entirely in words which contained no dotted letter, and his dogs³ used to trample on it in all directions. At last, after all his denial of the truth, his obstinacy, his pride, and his heresy, he hastened to the place to which he belonged, and went in such sort that I pray that nobody may see or hear of the like. When the Emperor went to visit him when he was at his last gasp, Faizī barked like a dog in his face, and the Emperor used to relate this story in open *darbār*, his face was swollen and his lips had become black, so that the Emperor asked *Shāikh* Abū-l-Faẓl what caused this blackness of the lips and suggested that Faizī had rubbed *mīṣī*⁴ on his teeth, as the people of India use to do, but Abū-l-Faẓl replied that this was not so, and that the blackness was caused by the blood which Faizī had been vomiting. But, without a doubt, the sufferings which he had already endured were very little considered with reference to his vice, his abuse of the faith, and his revilings of his holiness the last of the Prophets (may God bless him and his family, all of them). Many abusive chronograms were discovered for the date of his death. One was as follows:—

“When Faizī the atheist died an eloquent man uttered (as the date of his death) the words,

‘A dog has gone from the world in an abominable state.’”⁵

1 جنابت. ‘Vir de quo egreditur semen coitus, lavabit aquā omne corpus suum; et immundus erit usque ad vesperum’ Lev xv. 16 The Muhammadan law on this point was the same as the Mosiac. The obligation was contemptuously set aside by the ‘divine faith’: vide Badāonī, ii, text p. 305.

2 The *Sawāfi*’n-l-*Ilhām*, vide *supra* p. 194 and note 412.

3 Faizī was very fond of dogs.

4 A dentifrice used in India for blackening the teeth.

5 مكي از جهان رفته بحال قبيح. 60 + 20 + 10 + 1 + 7 + 3 + 5 + 1 + 50 + 200 + 80 + 400 + 5 + 2 + 8 + 1 + 80 + 100 + 2 + 10 + 8 = 1003. One year short.

Another said :

"The date of the death of that carrion Faizi is fixed by the words 'The four religions of fire.'"¹

Another found the following chronogram :—

"Faizi the inauspicious, the enemy of the Prophet,
Went, bearing on him the brand of curses,
He was a miserable and hellish dog, and hence
The words 'what dog-worshipper has died' : give the date
of his death."

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In the same strain was the chronogram :

"The laws of apostasy have been overthrown."²

And another wrote: "Faizi was an apostate."³

And to the same effect is the following :—

"Since he could not choose but go, there is no help but that
The date of his death shall be found in the words, 'He is
for ever in fire.'"⁴

He wrote poetry for a period of exactly forty years, but it was all imperfect. He could set up the skeleton of verse well, but the bones had no marrow in them, and the salt⁵ of his poetry was entirely without savour. His taste in lewd raving, in boastful verse, and in infidel scribblings, is well known, but he was

¹ 2 + 3 + 1 + 200 + 40 + 700 + 5 + 2 + 50 + 1 + 200 = 1204.

This chronogram gives two hundred years in excess. Badā'uni perhaps thought that any stick was good enough to beat a dog with. The 'four religions of fire' were probably Judaism, Christianity, Hinduism, and Zoroastrianism, the 'divine faith' of Akbar being, perhaps, substituted for one of these.

² 3 + 5 + 60 + 20 + 2 + 200 + 60 + 400 + 10 + 40 + 200 + 1 = 1011.

³ 10 + 1 + 70 + 4 + 5 + 1 + 30 + 8 + 1 + 4 + 300 + 20 + 60 + 400 = 1011.

⁴ 2 + 6 + 4 + 80 + 10 + 800 + 10 + 40 + 30 + 8 + 4 + 10 = 1007.

⁵ 600 + 1 + 30 + 4 + 80 + 10 + 1 + 30 + 50 + 1 + 200 = 1007.

Three years in excess.

⁶ مصالح (Masāliḥ) 'Spices,' 'flavouring materials.'

⁷ فخریات (fakrīyāt) Verses boasting of their own accomplishments in

entirely devoid of any experience of the love of truth, of the knowledge of God, and of any idea of a painful longing for God, and "a favourable reception is the lot of enemies." Although his *divān* and his *maṣnavī* contain more than twenty thousand couplets there is not among them one couplet that is not as much without fire as his withered genius, and they are despised and rejected to such an extent that no one, even in lewdness, studies his verse, as they do those of other base poets.

"Verse which is wholly devoid of pith
Remains, for all time, a rough draft."

And this is stranger still, that although he has spent the whole revenue of his *jāgīrs* in having his misleading lies written and copied, and has sent copies of them to all his friends, both far and near, nobody has ever taken a copy in his hand a second time.

Thy poetry has doubtless taken a lesson from the dignity
of the veil,
For it displays no desire to come out of its private corner
in the house.

The following few couplets are taken from his selected poems which he wrote as memorials of himself, and entrusted to Mirzā Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad and others:—

"Cover not thy eyelashes¹ when thy eyes travel, like feet,
(the road of love)

For stout wayfarers march with naked feet."

302

"Why dost thou cut my hand, thou sword of love? If
justice is to be done

Cut out the tongue of the slanderer of Zulaikḥā."

"When we cast our bounteous glance on those who sit in
the dust

We distribute even to ants brains like those of Solomon."

"The flood of my tears will hardly turn thy heart of stone;
To turn this mill-stone the flood of Noah is required."

poetry are a favourite form of composition among Persian poets, and especially among Indian poets writing in Persian.

¹ i.e. 'Veil not thyself.'

"O love, overthrow not the *Ka'bah*, for there, for a moment,
Those exhausted in the faith of love sometimes take rest."

"O love, have I leave to remove from the shoulder of the
sky

To my own shoulder the banner of thy power? "

"How long shall I stake my heart on the blandishments of
the fair?

I will burn this heart and obtain a new heart.

Faizi, my hand is empty, and the road of courtship is be-
fore me,

Perhaps I shall be able to pledge my *divān* for this world
and the next."

The following is the opening couplet of a boastful ode, of
which he was very proud:—

"Thanks be to God that the love of beautiful ones is my
guide.

I am of the religion of Brahmans and of the faith of the
fire-worshippers."

The following couplet is also by him:—

"In this land there is a sugar-lipped multitude

Who have mixed salt with their wine and are drunk in-
deed."

(Poet) say thyself in what part of this poetry there is any
savour.

The following couplets are from the *Maṣnavī Markaz-i-Adwār* 303
which he wrote in imitation of the *Makhzan-i-Khiyāl*¹ and which
did not turn out fortunately for him:—²

"To beg³ for what aid I come to this door,

That I have become richer in heart and hand?

¹ This is a mistake. The *Markaz-i-Adwār* was written in imitation of
Nizāmī's *Makhzan-i-asrār*, vide supra p. 412 n. 1.

² By this expression Badāoni appears to mean merely that he did not
live to finish it.

³ درويزه in the text. The MSS. have درويزه. The difference affects
the meaning nor the scansion.

I asked for little, but my stock increased
Then, though I sat down, my footsteps advanced."

The following couplets are from his projected ¹*maṣnawī*. *Bilqīs-u-Sulaimān*:—

"I set myself again to place
The slit of my pen opposite to the window of my heart :
There comes from that window and enters this window ²
That very light which serves as a guide to the soul,
Although from this court of injustice
The throne of the Sulaimān of my words ³ has gone on the
breeze.
Yet it occurred to me to consider a plan
Whereby, by means of spells, I might bind the demons in
chains,⁴
Bind them, by what means I have, to the throne of my
rhetoric,
And adorn that (throne) from the treasures of my mind."

The following is an enigma which he composed on the name of Qādirī. :—⁵

"I will leave the mark from love's brand
Since it is a memorial in my heart, and is the only scar
there."

When he was absent as an envoy in the Dakan I sent him two letters from the lower slopes of the Kashmir mountains, informing him of the Emperor's disfavour towards me and of his refusal to admit me to his presence in order that I might pay my respects. In the petition which Faizi sent to court he recom-

¹ *معهوم* (*mauḥūm*) 'imaginary' The meaning may perhaps be that the poem was the work of Faizi's imagination, but I believe my translation to be correct. The poem was never finished. Vide p. 412 n. 1.

² i.e. the light is conveyed from the window of the poet's heart to the nib of his pen, the slit between which is compared to another window.

³ i.e. the poet's words of wisdom

⁴ As Sulaimān is said to have done.

⁵ The meaning of the passage may be, "an enigma which he addressed to Qādirī." I have not been able to solve the enigma.

succeded me to the Emperor's favour and Shaiikh Abû-l-Faḡl was ordered to embody that petition in the *Ḥikmah-nāma* in order that it might be read as an example of what such documents should be. The following is a copy of that petition, which was dated on the 10th day of the month *Jamādî-ul-Ṣaniyyah*, A.H. 1000 (February 23, 1592), and despatched from Ahmadnagar to Lahor:—

'Refuge of the world! There lately came to me from Badāon two relatives of Mulla 'Abdu-l-Qādir, in a very disturbed state of mind, weeping, weeping and tortured by anxiety. They told me that Mulla 'Abd-l-Qādir had for some time been sick, and had been unable to keep his promise to attend at court, that some of the Emperor's officers had carried him off with force and violence,* and that they did not know what the end of the matter would be. They also said that the long duration of his sickness had not been reported to your majesty. Cherisher of the broken spirited! Mulla 'Abdu-l-Qādir has much aptitude, and he has studied what the *Muḥlis* of Hindūstān usually study in the ordinary branches of learning. He acquired accomplishments under my honoured father, and I, your slave, have known him for nearly thirty-eight years. In addition to his acquirements in learning he has some skill in poetry, and good taste in prose composition, both Arabic and Persian. He has also acquired some knowledge of Indian astrology, and of accounts, in all their branches. He is acquainted with Indian and foreign music, and by no means ignorant of chess, both the two-handed and the four-handed game,† and has some practice in playing the *Ḥin*.‡ In spite of all these acquirements he is endued with many virtues. He is not avaricious, has a contented mind, is not vacillating, is truthful, straightforward, respectful, unambitious, humble-spirited, meek,

* *شَدَّتْ تَمَام* (*ṣaḍḍat-tamām*) MS. (A) substitutes *شَرَّوَتْ* (*ṣharḍawāt*)

malice' for *مَدَّتْ*

† Akbar himself played both games. Vide *Ḥin-ul-Akbar*, i, 308.

‡ The *Ḥin* is a stringed instrument consisting of a narrow strip of wood connecting, and placed over the openings of, two dried gourd, spherical, or nearly so, in shape. Along the wooden bridge are stretched five or seven steel strings, which are played with a plectrum.

moderate in his requests, almost entirely devoid of the dissimulation so common at court, and entirely faithful and devoted to the Imperial Court. When the imperial forces were sent against Kūmbhulmer¹ he, having requested permission to accompany them, went thither in the hope of offering his life to your majesty, and was in action and was wounded, and when the fact was reported he received a reward. Jalāl Khān Qūrcī² first presented him at court, and said, when presenting him: "I have discovered for your majesty an *Imām*³ with whom you will be well pleased. Mīr Fathu-'llāh⁴ also acquainted your sacred majesty, to some extent, with his affairs, and my respected brother⁵ is also aware of his circumstances; but it is well known that 'a grain of luck is better than a load of merit.'"

Since your majesty's court is the court of the just, your slave, acting as though he were present in person at the foot of the august throne, when he saw a helpless man suffering persecution, has represented the case to your majesty. Had he not represented it at this time he would, in a manner, have been guilty
 305 of insincerity and want of proper regard for the truth. May God (who is praised) deign to keep the slaves of your majesty's court constant in the path of truth, justice, and righteous dealing under the heavenly shadow of your majesty, their Emperor; and may He long maintain your majesty as their shelter, the cherisher of the miserable, the bestower of favours, the coverer of faults, with boundless wealth, glory, greatness and majesty, by the honour of the pure ones who dwell in the courts of God and the enlightened ones who rise betimes to praise him. Amen. Amen.

¹ This place, the name of which is variously spelt by Badāoni, as Kūmbhalgarh, a fortress on the western border of the Udaipur State in Rajputāna, about 40 miles north of Udaipur city. *Ide text*, vol. ii, pp. 227, 266. It was in April 1576 that Badāoni asked for and obtained leave to accompany this expedition.

² Jalāl Khān Qūrcī was a commander of five hundred. He distinguished himself in the field and Akbar was much attached to him. He was murdered, in mistake for Shīmal Khān, early in 1576. *Ide Jīm-i-Akbarī* i, 475.

³ The reader and leader of prayers in the *musjid*.

⁴ *Ide p.* 216.

⁵ Shāikh Abū-l-Fazl.

he said, 'Nobody has excelled me in these three *shîns*¹, *Shamshîr* ('the sword'), *shî'r* ('poetry'), and *shaṭranj* ('chess'). The Emperor at once replied, 'The same might be said of two other *shîns*, *shaitānī* ('devilry') and *shaṭṭānī*² ('effrontery').' Fanā'i spent some time in prison, and when he was released he was seized with madness, which, taking him by the hand, led him away into some wilderness, whither, nobody knows. He has written a *dīvān* and his poetry is of the character of that of the debauched *Qaḡlataī* nobles. The following couplet is by him,

"Every one attains his object by his nightly cries of 'O Lord,
O Lord!'

O Lord! Why do not I attain my object by my cries of
'O Lord!'

The following opening couplet also, which I have borne in my mind for the last fifty years, and which is quoted in the *Tārīkh-i-297 Niẓāmī*,³ is by him:—

"I say not that I have a house worthy to be honoured by
thy footsteps,

I am a stranger, and humble, and have but a waste corner."

(The following is another opening couplet.)

"Whilst thy rosy face blossomed above the rosy wine

The wine blossomed in the cup from the reflection of thy
rosy face."

CIV. FUSŪNĪ OF YAZD.⁴

He is a Sayyid, a story-teller, and has a mind adapted to

¹ The three words begin with the letter ش (*shīn*) as do also the two words added to them by Akbar.

² This word is not in the text, but both MSS. have it. It may perhaps have been an afterthought of some scribe, but is very applicable to the boastful Fanā'ī.

³ *Scil.* The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, by Niẓāmu-'dīn-Aḥmad.

⁴ Fusūnī is not mentioned in the *Ṭabaqāt*. In the *Āin* he is called a *Shīrazī*, while Dāghistānī and the *Ātaḡkada-i-Āẓar* say that he came from Tabriz. Dāghistānī adds that he served under Jahāngīr and Shāhjahān as a *mustaufī*. The *Mīr'ātu-l-'Ālam* mentions a Fusūnī who was an *amīr* in

poetry. He came from *Thaṭha*¹ and obtained a post in the Emperor's service. The following verses are by him:—

“Why didst thou needlessly pass by the unworthy?
And, if it was necessary to pass by him, why didst thou
glance towards him?
Thou wert in talk with a stranger. and, when thou sawest
me from afar.
If thou didst not completely veil thyself from me why didst
thou draw thy veil but a little?”

“When I arrived. and thou wert in talk with a stranger.
Thou didst distract his attention, and then glance covertly
towards me.”

“Fusūnī made his obeisance to thee merely to deceive others.
Had it not been for this such a worthless wretch would
have been unworthy of making his obeisance.”

“When she had. after making a thousand promises, shown
me her face but once.
She then. for fear of strangers. showed it but for a mo-
ment and went.”

“He who is slain by the glance of the beloved closes not his
eyes.
As he draws his last breath he is dazzled by the face of his
slayer.”

CV. FIRĀZA OF KĀBUL.²

He was brought up in the household of *Mirzā Muḥammad* *Jahāngir's* reign and had the title of *Afzal Khān*. In the *Āin* (i, 604) *Fusūnī* is thus described, ‘His name is *Mahmūd Beg*. He is an excellent accountant and knows also astronomy well.’

¹ The well-known town in *Sind*.

² *Firāza* is mentioned in the *Āin* (i, 526) as a commander of two hundred. He came from *Kābul* to *India* with *Ghāzī Khān* of *Bādakhshān* in the early years of *Akbar's* reign.